

LIZ & PHIL
60 YEARS OF LOOKING THE OTHER WAY

ETHNIC SEX THERAPY
P.69



PUSHING THE ENVELOPES:
Andrew Coyne's debut column P.28

MACLEAN'S

NOV. 26th 2007

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INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

WHAT'S REALLY KILLING THE MOUNTIES

Dangerous work. No backup. Vicious bosses. The RCMP is in ruins.

P.18

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Kathy Deserly
Consultant to the Native American (...)

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COVER PHOTOGRAPH BY LARRY MACDOUGAL/CP; AP (LEFT INSET); CP (RIGHT INSET); THIS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES

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FINALLY, a man with the spine to tell Chávez to shut up King Juan Carlos of Spain

What royalty needs now is a new purpose

Sixty years ago the wedding of the future Queen was regarded as a portent of better times ahead for Great Britain In a poem celebrating the young bride, poet laureate John Masefield wrote that Princess Elizabeth's crown was "something set above a symbol, like a banner, for men's love." Next week, as Queen Elizabeth II celebrates her 60th wedding anniversary at Westminster Abbey, that crown is still a symbol of someone set above But to what greater purpose?

In recent decades it often seems as if the British royal family is more in need of succour and support from the public than the other way around The House of Windsor has become so overwhelmed by internal distractions—tattletale divorces, Diana's death, a steady stream of minor scandals—that its actual role as anything other than a generator of gossip has become almost totally obscured The crown now takes far more than it gives

The usefulness of the monarchy is similarly on trial in Belgium where, in the midst of a constitutional crisis that could break the country apart, unloved King Albert II has failed to elicit any sense of national purpose, or even spirit of compromise, among his fractious subjects

If there is to be a champion of a repurposed royalty, it must be King Juan Carlos of Spain At the very least he's learned how to speak for the masses At a summit in Chile last week, Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez launched into another of his tiresome tirades on the sins of the West and the perfection of his own strong armed socialist experiment Among other insults, he called former Spanish prime minister Jose Maria Aznar a "fascist," and "not human." Chávez then continued to interrupt current Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero long after his own microphone had been turned off At which point the king leaned forward, looked squarely at Chavez and asked "Why don't you shut up?"

We suspect a great many world leaders, not to mention regular democracy-loving folks at home, would love to have said the same thing to Chavez, but lacked either the opportunity or the nerve As a monarch set above politics and with the honour of his country at stake, King Juan Carlos had both the status and occasion to put Chavez in his place. Dictator of windbags Perhaps there is a role for a modern monarchy after all

WE ARE PLEASED to welcome renowned columnist and journalist Andrew Coyne to *Maclean's* as national editor He'll help to guide our coverage of national affairs in print and online, and write a weekly column, which debuts this week (page 28). A veteran editorial writer and columnist for the *Globe and Mail*, the *Financial Post*, and, most recently, the *National Post*, Coyne is familiar to millions of newspaper readers and TV viewers as one of the most original voices in Canadian media. He is a great addition to our enviable roster of correspondents M

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To comment on the magazine
(416) 764-1706

BY MAIL
Maclean's, 11th floor
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Editorial department
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Fax (416) 764-1332

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MAIL BAG

'The letters from members of our military made for an excellent article that everyone should read'



WORSE THAN BUSH

DO YOU HAVE a George W. Bush fetish ("Could the next president be even scarier?" World, Nov 12)? The cover story should have been dedicated to your Remembrance Day tribute featuring the letters of Canadian soldiers who died in Afghanistan. I don't give a diddly squat about how scary the next U.S. president will be because I cannot vote in the good old U.S. of A. We will be stuck with whomever is voted in by the American population

Christian Dyllan, Orleans, Ont.

WHAT'S SCARY is the real possibility that the majority of Canadians who think nothing could be worse than George W. Bush also find no harm in the rising loonie

Douglas L. Martin, Hamilton

WRITING HOME

Your tribute to our fallen soldiers ("Last letters from Kandahar," National, Nov. 12) gives a small glimpse of their human decency, character and courage. My heart goes out to their family, friends and comrades

John Welwood, Kincardine, Ont.

THE LETTERS you published from our now-deceased soldiers are heart-wrenching, but all too reminiscent of similar letters written by the young Canadians who died in Europe in the two world wars. The fundamental difference is that the grandchildren of these soldiers can now walk the beaches of Normandy and wander through Flanders' fields with their own children. Two generations from now, the offspring of our recently fallen soldiers will only have a desolate, lawless frontier to remind them of the sacrifice that was made. I fear that no amount of money, blood or good intentions will change that final outcome

Dr. Ian Dobson, Thunder Bay, Ont.

THE COMPILATION of letters and the profiles made for an excellent article that everyone should read. It reminds us that the members of our military are individuals carrying out a tough task and their letters home provide a reminder of how they coped with these tasks. There is one error that I would like to point out in Capt. Nichola Goddard's profile. Nichola was not an infantry officer, nor did she command a platoon. She was a proud member of the artillery and was, at the time of her death, a Forward Observation Officer supporting the infantry by controlling artillery fire

Retired Lt. Col. Neil Johnstone, Gloucester, Ont.

LOMBARDO'S LEGACY

THE EDITORIAL about the closing of a museum dedicated to Guy Lombardo in his hometown of London, Ont., really struck a chord with me ("A Canadian musical icon deserves better," From the Editors, Nov. 12). The blame rests solidly on the doorstep of the London city council. Not only has the council neglected the Lombardo legacy, but, inexplicably, distanced itself from it. There are plenty of signs coming into London for a myriad of attractions from water parks to archaeological



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'My suggestion (and it's got to be the best), proclaim Dec. 31 Guy Lombardo Day in Canada'

digs. At the very least, every "Welcome to the City of London" sign should have "The Home of Guy Lombardo" added.
Bob Badgley, London, Ont.

CONCERNING your request for suggestions about how to memorialize Guy Lombardo, if London were to put together a full and imaginative Canadian Jazz Hall of Fame, the whole world of jazz nuts would be thinking "gotta get there, gotta see and hear that stuff." Lombardo certainly deserves a place among the great leaders of big bands. There could be two quite distinct areas to the museum, one for our own musicians and the other for those foreigners who have major connections with us. Duke Ellington, for example, was commissioned by the Stratford Festival in 1957 to write an extended work—*Such Sweet Thunder*—for the summer musical offerings. People could push a button and hear the music. There could be ongoing publicity as new inductees were identified.
Gordon Greene, Waterloo, Ont.

THERE'S absolutely nothing that brings on a lovely attack of nostalgia like those soft sax tones at the beginning of *Auld Lang Syne*. My suggestion to memorialize Lombardo (and it's gotta be the best!) is for Canada to proclaim Dec. 31 Guy Lombardo Day.
Mary Foster, Abbotsford, B.C.

I WAS BORN in London, Ont. The Lombardos used to pass by our house on their way to one of London's Catholic schools. My maternal grandmother, an aggressive but brilliant Methodist, enlisted the Lombardo boys to play in her Sunday school orchestra shortly after the First World War. No doubt my grandmother thought the music would give her forgiveness or perhaps they might be converted. Guy Lombardo, his music and its style were almost the sole creators of Canadian dance and song life from 1920 to the Second World War. This is true Canadian music history.
Dr. J.S.W. Aldis, Port Hope, Ont.

HERE IS MY suggestion to honour Guy Lombardo: never mind the Sony Centre, rename Toronto's Hummingbird Centre "Guy Lombardo Royal Canadian Place." Hummingbird conjures up a bird sanctuary.
G. James Thomson, Guelph, Ont.



PURE MEANNESS: It's why tabs dis female celebs, a reader says

'SCHADENFREUDE'

I HAVE a simple, one-word explanation for why tabloids tend to focus almost exclusively on the bad behaviour of female celebrities: *schadenfreude*, the perverse and often unbridled pleasure one takes in another's misery ("The tabs—no men allowed," Media, Nov. 12). Since women are usually the ones who buy the tabloids, it makes sense that they'd be more interested in reading about rich, glamorous young women who canoodle with lots of handsome guys and wear pricey getups, but can't get their act together. There is the further satisfaction of seeing that all that wealth and fame may not make for a very happy life.
Mindy G. Alter, Toronto

SOLD SHORT?

IT WAS QUITE a shocker to read your congratulations to Canadian Tire and Wal-Mart for slashing prices in reaction to the soaring loonie ("Rolling back prices," Good News, Nov. 5). As a small retailer, is it quite hard to pass on these temporary "savings" as we book our products way in advance at Canadian prices and are at the mercy of manufacturers and distributors. If you are a corporate giant with your own distribution chain and buy your containers direct from China, in U.S. dollars, you have a lot more leeway.
Andrea Rankin, Canmore, Alta.

I WONDER why both the Canadian media and our government find it so important to lambaste Canadian retailers. Do they really believe that the retail industry is out to cash in on the Canadian public because of the depressed American currency? Is there any real understanding of why there is a disparity in the price of goods? I don't see much conversation about the reduction of duties that affect the pricing of goods in Canada. We are taxed with more duties than almost any industrialized country in the world. Plus, is it not possible that more than 300 million people have more buying power than 33 million? Yes, the prices will get closer, but the drop in the U.S. dollar happened so rapidly that it takes time for the pricing to catch up. Sending our money down south or lining Wal-Mart's pockets will do little for the long-term health of neighbourhood retailers. Wake up *Maclean's*, and could someone please fire our finance minister?
Ross McNamara, President, Gerick Cycle and Ski, Nelson, B.C.

HOORAY for Wal-Mart! Recognizing the mighty loonie and acting in a timely manner may have Canadian customers holding vigil at other stores for fair prices. Our increased buying power is easily seen on eBay's Canadian domain, where you already see Americans paying four to six per cent more than Canadian shoppers.
Tyler Melnyk, Calgary

PROMISING VISTAS

HAVING recently returned from a contract position in Bermuda, I can tell you that Brazil is not the only country that doesn't allow billboards ("Clearing the air of 'visual pollution,'" World, Nov. 12). Bermuda also prohibits fast-food franchises and there are increasingly stricter rules on foreign ownership of property. All of this helps keep Bermuda safe from both visual pollution and the bland sameness of McDonald's and Taco Bell. I ate some of the best food I've had while there, and while it was expensive, it was more than worth it.
Pat Brown, London, Ont.



NEVER MIND GORE, a reader swears May is a true environmentalist

X17ONLINE.COM
DAVE CHIDLEY/CP

WIDENING THE NET

MITCHEL Raphael's column mentioned a price difference between groups aiming to end malaria in Africa through the use of insecticide-treated bed nets ("Stronach's net worth more?" Capital Diary, Nov. 5). Just to clarify, a $10 donation to Spread the Net ensures that UNICEF can purchase a long lasting insecticide-treated net and ensure its transportation (including to remote areas in Liberia and Rwanda), distribution to families, training of local health workers and monitoring of distributed bed nets' use. While our organizations may differ in some aspects, what remains important is our shared goal to eradicate malaria.
Belinda Stronach, Co-chair, Spread the Net, Aurora, Ont.

A NEW MAY DAY

THERE MAY be some dissension within the Green party about Elizabeth May's tactics, but in the arena of federal politics she is like a refreshing breeze of clean salt air off the Atlantic ("Could the queen of green be mean?" National, Oct. 29). She is smart, natural, funny and a proven environmentalist. Indeed, despite the tacky rush of Canadian politicians to emulate Al Gore, May is the only true environmentalist who has served in the trenches and made really significant changes. She doesn't have to emulate anyone. She stands on her own two feet.
Bruce Littlejohn, Bracebridge, Ont.

GAY ON THE PAGE

Why is the sexual orientation of a children's book character news ("Pride of Hogwarts," Good News, Nov. 5)? More importantly, why was it bigger news that week than a story about the U.S. being poised to launch war on Iran and Syria? I hope *Maclean's* will be as interested in that war as it was in the lifestyle of a character who doesn't exist.
Julie Vincent, Calgary

IN PASSING

Norman Mailer, 84, writer. From his 1948 first novel, *The Naked and the Dead*, through works of literary journalism such as the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Armies of the Night* and *The Executioner's Song*, he became a larger-than-life figure in American arts. Famous as a left-leaning thinker, he nevertheless penned *Harlot's Ghost*, which was surprisingly sympathetic toward the CIA.

Fabulous Moolah, 84, wrestler. A leading figure on the women's pro wrestling circuit for 50 years, she held onto the women's championship for most of the period from the 1950s to the 1980s and was even victorious in the ring at age 76. She was profiled in the 2004 documentary *Lipstick and Dynamite*.

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Mountie mourning and misery

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macleans.ca/rcmp



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MACLEAN'S 50

Canada's leading voices comment on the major stories as we cover them

LATEST COMMENTS



Tim Powers

"Calling your dog Kyoto doesn't count as a lifestyle or behavioural change."
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BLOG CENTRAL



Paul Wells

Nicolas Sarkozy take note. Canada's top political columnist now resides in Paris
macleans.ca/paulwells



Scott Feschuk

All your questions answered—all your weaks reviewed
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BizMac

Steve Maich, Jason Kirby and Colin Campbell come to blows over the day's business news
macleans.ca/bizmac

TOP STORIES THIS WEEK

Mortgages, debt and retirement, oh my
Get your house in order with our family finance prioritizer. All the necessary Wab tools, all in one place—all for free

She had the best dress
On the 60th anniversary of Quaen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip's nuptials, we take a look back at a fairy-tale event.

Some are more equal than others
How the PQ hopes to emerge from its own identity crisis by capitalizing on Quebec's

What shall we do with the drunken sailors
A lighthearted glimpse into Canada's military justice system

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7 DAYS
THE WEEK OF 11/12



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF THE CANADIAN DOLLAR

After soaring to a record high of US$1.10—and triggering a flood of cross-border shoppers—the loonie is starting to lose its shine. By last Friday, the dollar had dropped to US$1.06, and on Monday, it suffered its deepest one-day plunge in 36 years, plummeting almost three full cents to close at just above US$1.03. Analysts are forecasting a further fall, with many predicting parity by the end of the year. Not yet, though. On Tuesday, the dollar climbed back to US$1.04.

Good news

Three downs, not out

The gods appear to be smiling on the CFL this season. The league reported that attendance this year was the highest since 1983, and sellouts have become run-of-the-mill, rather than rarities. The playoffs, in the wake of two conference semifinal nail-biters last Sunday, are shaping up to be the most exciting in years. Even the Tibetan religious leader, the Dalai Lama, is a fan. Two weeks ago, on a trip to Ottawa, he wrote "Victory to the Blue Bombers" on a Winnipeg football helmet. We think we'll put our money on the Bombers this Sunday.

Money talks

Speaking of the Dalai Lama…So much for China's warning that Ottawa's decision to roll out the welcome mat for his holiness may hurt relations between the two countries. The latest trade report from StatsCan shows that, in the first seven months of this year, Canadian exports to China soared 43 per cent from a year earlier, while imports rose only 17 per cent. Since 2002, our exports to China have more than doubled to almost $8 billion, and are growing faster than any of the other Group of Seven industrialized nations. Our guess is this: as long as China keeps growing, and we keep producing the raw materials used to build their cities and their roads, we can have tea with the Dalai Lama as often as we want and it won't cost us a thing.

Brainy is beautiful

More good news for beautiful women (because being gorgeous isn't good news enough): you're sexy and smart. According to a study published this week in the United States, curvaceous women with an hourglass figure are more intelligent, live longer and produce smarter children than their "apple-shaped" counterparts. In fact, when the researchers examined 16,000 women and girls, they found that those with a lower "waist-to-hip ratio" scored significantly higher on written tests. Clearly, Jessica Simpson did not participate.

Beam us up, eh?

All is right with the world again. Another Canadian will be taking the helm of the Starship Enterprise. Quebec-born Bruce Greenwood will star as Capt. Christopher Pike in the upcoming *Star Trek* prequel to be directed by J.J. Abrams, the man behind smash TV series *Lost*. Following in the footsteps of fellow Canuck William Shatner, who so memorably played Capt. James T. Kirk for decades, Greenwood will lead a cast that is said to include Winona Ryder as the mother of a young Spock. Far be it from us to give Mr. Greenwood acting advice, but he might want to consider working on his pregnant... pauses and halting... style of speech. M

Bad news

No fuelling around

Okay, we understand, the airline business is tough, but this is ridiculous. A report by ABC News last week revealed the number of planes landing at Newark airport with low or minimum fuel has risen from just five during a six-month period in 2005 to 73 in a similar period this year. Another 10 flights declared fuel emergencies. And pilots claim this is because airlines are cutting it close to cope with the rising price of jet fuel. Look, when they started charging for food, we understood. We accept the ridiculously cramped seats. But when you start cutting back on gas to save money, it's time to start taking the train again.

Crash course in PR

It's getting hard to find a headline about Bombardier lately that doesn't contain the word "crash." This week, Tim Hortons co-founder Ron Joyce's private jet, a Bombardier Global 5000, crash-landed amid high winds in Nova Scotia. There's no indication of mechanical failure at this point, but it's hardly what the company needed as it was off to Europe this week to discuss with regulators the safety of its Q400 aircraft, which has crash-landed three times in two months due to malfunctioning landing gear. Nobody has been seriously hurt in the wrecks, but the same can't be said for Bombardier's image.

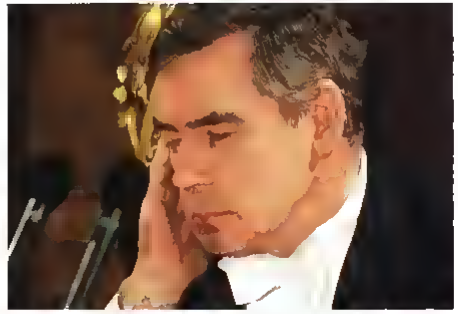
Killer toys

Be safe: buy your child a savings bond this Christmas. Amid an already massive recall of contaminated toys, authorities have confirmed that Aqua Dots—a craft kit made in China and distributed by a Toronto company—are laced with a toxic chemical that turns into the "date rape" drug if swallowed. Naturally, many parents are boycotting all "Made in China" tags this season, but that isn't foolproof. A new study concludes that while toy recalls have increased steadily since 1992, recalls of Chinese-made products are no more frequent than anywhere else.

So much for abstinence

It was a bad week for parents who hope that their child doesn't dabble in premarital sex. A new report out of Washington says that public awareness campaigns promoting the virtues of abstinence are doing little—if anything—to curb teen sex. Other education programs, including those that endorse condom use, are much more effective, the report says. Keep sweating, dad. Another study from the University of Virginia found that youngsters who have consensual sex in their early teen or even preteen years are less likely to engage in delinquent behaviour later on in life. In other words, teen sex equals a more stable, productive adulthood. Just wait until your 15-year-old daughter uses that excuse. M

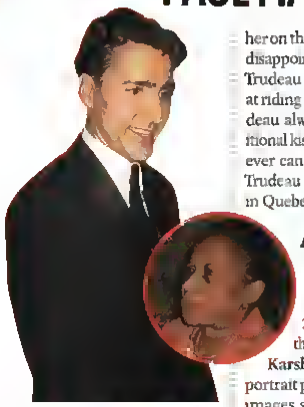
FACE OF THE WEEK



GORDON BROWN has a catnap at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, where he delivered his first keynote speech as the British PM on Monday

CHRIS RATCLIFFE/REX FEATURES

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON THE NEW NON-PARTISAN PAUL MARTIN AND JUSTIN'S FACEBOOK RENO



JUSTIN TRUDEAU'S new look, (inset) Bloc MP Vivian Barbot

JUSTIN UNVEILS HIS NEW ELECTION-READY LOOK

Liberal candidate **Justin Trudeau** recently switched his regular Facebook profile to a unique to-politicians one. It was a pre-emptive switch because Trudeau has been racking up cyber-friends, and people who get too many friends too fast on a regular account have been booted off Facebook. Politicians are allowed to have unlimited "supporters" as opposed to "friends." (**Stéphane Dion** has around 12,000 supporters.) The change to a political profile meant that, until recently, Trudeau had to list his "position" as "member of Parliament" on his main Facebook page, which made it look as if he had already been elected. At the same time as he made his switch to a political Facebook profile, Trudeau also changed his page photo, where once he sported shaggy hair, a scruffy beard and a casual blue long-sleeved shirt, he now has an election-ready look: charcoal suit and new shorter hair. His Facebook page isn't the only thing changing. When Trudeau was recently on the Hill and ran into his riding rival, Bloc MP **Vivian Barbot**, he did not kiss her on the cheeks. She was a little disappointed. When Barbot and Trudeau started crossing paths at riding events, Barbot says Trudeau always gave her the traditional kiss on both cheeks. What ever can this mean? That who Trudeau kisses in Quebec stays in Quebec?

AUDREY AND SIR WINSTON

When Canada Post announced a set of 2008 stamps to honour the work of the late **Yousuf Karsh**, Ottawa's renowned portrait photographer, the final images still had to be picked. Capital Diary has learned a portrait of Karsh himself is expected to appear on stamps for letters within Canada; letters to the U.S. will feature Karsh's portrait of **Audrey Hepburn**, while international stamps will have Karsh's famous photo of a scowling wartime **Winston Churchill**. Karsh's wife, **Estrellita Karsh**, will provide accompanying text for collectors.

WHY THIS MP WEARS A TURBAN

Ontario Liberal MP **Mark Holland**, 33, recently celebrated 10 years in public service with a party in his Ajax-Pickering riding. One exhibit at the party showcased "10 years of Mark Holland fashion." Sadly, it all looked like Mark's

ESTRELLITA Karsh, in Ottawa





Work Warehouse items, only with campaign logos. The speeches from local mayors and elected provincial officials talked of Holland's impressive accomplishments at such a young age. Looping photos projected on a screen at the event showed some seriously big vintage Holland hair, and most speakers had something to say about that, including former Liberal leadership candidate **Gerard Kennedy** (whom Holland backed). Liberal MP **Navdeep Bains**, who co-hosted the event with fellow MP **Omar Alghabra**, joked, "Gerard used to make fun of my hair too—that's why I wear a turban." At the party, Bains was showing off a laminated photo of his new baby (and first child), a little girl named **Nanki**. Nanki, Bains told Capital Diary, was the name of the sister of the first prophet of the Sikh faith.



KENNEDY and Bains (top), former prime minister Paul Martin

ARE YOU THERE, JIM? IT'S ME, PAUL MARTIN.

"I was finance minister for too long and prime minister for not long enough," quipped **Paul Martin** during his speech at the Munk Centre for International Studies in Toronto. The former PM was championing new ways of financing social enterprises, talking about ways charities could attract investors willing to get, in many cases, lower than-market returns on investments. It was after Martin left the PM's office and began raising funds for Aboriginal projects that he realized the opportunity to invest in a charity rather than just donate was "a missing piece" of the fundraising puzzle. When Capital Diary asked if he was looking for his idea to become Liberal party tax policy, Martin stressed, "I do not regard this as a partisan issue. I don't want to play politics with this." So would he be calling up Finance Minister **Jim Flaherty**? "I'll sit down with anyone and discuss it." M

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa outtakes or to contact Mitchel Raphael, visit **macleans.ca/mitchelraphael**

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MITCHEL RAPHAEL



If it's waffling, it must be Belgium



ANDREW POTTER

Even if we set aside the persistent rumours that he is an alien cyborg with a busted emotion module, we have to admit Stephen Harper is not the most congenial fellow around. Back in 2004, though, he had the country rolling in the aisles from sea to sea—with his ruminations about adopting a Belgian-style approach to federalism where some elements of federal authority would be divided along linguistic, not provincial, lines. Harper quickly dropped the idea, having given the country a much needed bilingual belly laugh.

But his "Belgian waffle" anticipated that country's dual purpose on the international scene these days: to act as a case study in federalism gone awry, and to serve as the butt of bad jokes. So how about this one: by the time this hits the newsstands, Belgium will have gone a record 158 days (and counting) without a national government, but far from being in a state of utter chaos, it is pretty much business as usual in that country of 10.4 million sandwiched between Germany, France, and Holland. That may have something to do with the fact that the old record was 148 days, suggesting that a functioning federal government is less integral to Belgian life than it might be someplace like America or Australia.

Still, the current political impasse that followed an election stalemate in June has led to speculation that this time the divide might become permanent, with the Dutch speaking Flanders and French speaking Wallonia areas finally going their separate ways (with the Walloons potentially making their way into the waiting embrace of France). And since nothing goes better with speculation than idler versions of the same, people are starting to wonder what the breakup of Belgium might mean for other (quasi) federal jurisdictions like the European Union, Britain, and Canada. For example, the *Daily Telegraph* ran a gleeful little piece last week claiming that if Belgium couldn't make a go of it, there was absolutely no hope for the EU. Because in Europe, as within Belgium, there is no shared identity, both entities rely (went the argument) on buying the loyalty of citizens through make-work projects, massive and smartly distributed subsidy schemes, and related forms of political bribery.

Closer to home but along similar lines, Norman Webster of the Montreal *Gazette* pointed out that the two halves of Belgium have nothing more in common than beer, chocolate, and a king. It doesn't take a poli-sci grad to substitute "hockey" for "chocolate" and come up with a fair description of the Canadian identity, and Webster's worry is that separatism might be contagious. If Belgium were to split up, it is plausible that the Scots, Catalans, and the Quebecois might start to get ideas.

But no matter what happens with Wallonia, there is very little in the Belgian experience that speaks to matters European or Canadian. If anything, the breakup of Belgium might be good for the EU, insofar as it would replace one unstable state with two stable and committed members. It might also allow Brussels to emerge as a sort of Washington of Europe, a non-state federal district that every member country could feel free to despise without offending anyone who matters.

As for Canada, if there is anything to be learned from Belgium, it is the fairly straightforward lesson that federations formed out of only two distinct units are inherently unstable and tend to stick together only when they are acted upon by external political forces. When two territorial groups make up a federation, virtually every aspect of public life becomes the basis for invidious competition, with one group emerging as the winner, the other as the loser. It is sibling rivalry run amok, where one group will always be larger, wealthier, more populous, more culturally developed, better at sports . . . the list is endless. Furthermore, if the federation is consistently unbalanced, with the same group always coming out on top, you have the potential for serious political polarization. The winning group will dominate politically and the loser will look to mitigate that dominance by constantly threatening to separate.

The dustbin of history is littered with failed two-unit federations, including Czechoslovakia (which split up shortly after the Soviet Union dissolved) and the short-lived marriage of Serbia and Montenegro. In contrast, federal states with a large number of constituent units—think of Germany with its 16 states, Switzerland and its 26 cantons, or the 50 stars on the American flag—tend to be remarkably stable. The federal units are able, either individually or in small groups, to serve as a check on the domineering ambitions of others.

Here in Canada, even though Quebecers like to



Quebec flatters itself, but Canada has avoided most perils of two-unit federations

flatter themselves with the myth of two founding nations, the country has managed to avoid most of the problems associated with two unit federations. The subdivision of English-speaking Canada into separate provinces has encouraged the development of shifting alliances and overlapping resentments, with the country divided as much along regional (West versus East) or demographic (urban versus rural) lines.

All of which is to say that there is one more lesson in Belgium for us. It is the political equivalent of rote learning: *My ongoing flirtation with Quebec nationalists is reckless, if not insane.*

Maybe if Stephen Harper were to write that out 500 times, the message would start to sink in. M

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at **www.macleans.ca/andrewpottar**

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BLAME IT ON THE RAIN

Flooding in Europe forced hundreds from their homes last week, including some in the English village of Welcott (top left). Parts of Hamburg (bottom right) were submerged after the Elbe River overflowed. And though snow in Austria prompted an early start to the ski season, it also forced crews into the streets of Stuben (top right), while Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria (bottom left), was also blanketed.

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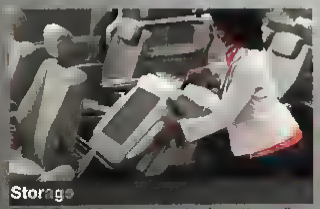
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GRAB LIFE

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'We was black in the '60s, man. Now a [rap star] from Something Housing Project is going to tell me what it is to be black?'

JAZZ GREAT WYNTON MARSALIS TALKS TO KENNETH WHYTE ABOUT 50 CENT AND BRITNEY, THE 'N' WORD, AND HOW THE '60S HURT JAZZ

Wynton Marsalis was in Toronto to speak to the Ontario Hospital Association conference, "Inspiring Ideas and Innovation," when he met with Kenneth Whyte.

Q: *Do you ever get up in the morning and look at your trumpet and think, "Oh no, not you again"?*

A: No, I never look at my trumpet in the morning, first of all, but it's always an honour to play. I love playing. The guys I play with, I started off teaching them, so it's like I get a chance to demonstrate to them every day what I talked about when they were growing up, about how to address your instrument seriously and how to, no matter where you are, be grateful for playing and play like you're hungry to play.

Q: *You've been doing a lot of other things besides playing. You're an educator, you're an activist, you run a program at the Lincoln Center in New York, you're an ambassador for New Orleans.*

A: But all of that comes from my horn. It starts with playing. I had an operation a year and a half ago, where something was wrong with my lips for two years, and it's almost like I had to go back to scratch. It made me develop an even greater appreciation of playing.

Q: *Sort of like Tiger Woods remaking his golf swing.*

A: Kind of, but even worse because he chose to change the way he was. I didn't know whether I would be able to play, physically.

Q: *What happened?*

A: I had an ingrown hair that became calcified, but I could never figure out what was wrong. Finally one doctor I went to, he said, "We'll just do some laser surgery."

Q: *Was it on your lip?*

A: Yeah, I had like eight, six stitches down the middle.

Q: *What difference did it make?*

A: The architecture of my lips changed. Man, if you even get something in your teeth it affects the way you play. That's how sensitive your embouchure is. And you're making so many little nuanced adjustments to bend notes and to change the character of notes and all the different things that we do, in jazz especially, that that type of major architectural change was like having another embouchure.

Q: *But you feel you can get it completely back?*

A: Maybe. I don't think I'll ever technically be back like how I was, but I think that I'll play in a different way to compensate for it. It made me definitely be a better teacher. A lot of times I couldn't understand the technical limitations of students. It's not always a matter of practising.

Q: *What are the physical gifts that you need, when you distinguish between a good trumpet player and a great trumpet player?*

A: Just flexibility, the ability to go up and down easily, tone, the roundness of your sound, attacks, the ability to come in on notes, accuracy.

Q: *Physically where's that rooted?*

A: It's the ability to adjust the air and to adjust the aperture. It's like jumping and keeping your balance. It's like gymnastics.

Q: *Yeah, that's what I was thinking.*

A: Like to maintain control, with different levels of tension, double- and triple-tonguing, like things with "drrrh-drrrh-drrrh," having tongue techniques, nuanced ways of playing, like certain types of vibratos, and playing softly and loudly, and breathing, the ability to play fast.

Q: *When did you know you had all those things?*

A: I practised a lot. I was systematic in my way of practising, so I worked on each thing specifically.

Q: *Where's the audience for jazz?*

A: The audience is limited because we don't have the proper education to sustain an audience. It's very difficult to have a huge audience when the audience is mainly dedicated to people who are amateurs, or who can't play at all.

Q: *But in the beginning jazz didn't have an educated audience.*

A: Yes, it did. There was an intelligent listening audience. In the United States the intelligent audience started to decline in the '60s. Up until that time there was a concentrated music education program. So a lot of early jazz musicians, even though their grandparents were slaves, their parents were not slaves, and the early... Don Redmond, all those early guys who formed the music, they were very educated, man. Don Redmond went to Oberlin.

Q: *Yeah, but it was a popular form of music.*

A: It was never a popular form of music. There was a version of it that became popular, like what dance bands played.

Q: *What happened in the '60s?*

A: The '60s was a social phenomenon in which a generation of kids had the moral high ground on their parents. That had never happened before. The youth were against segregation, they were against the Vietnam War, they were for women's rights. There was tremendous upheaval in the country, but it created the illusion that younger people know more than older people. That's not true. So what happened to every generation since that generation? Do I have the moral high ground on my father? Do my kids have that over me? No possible way.

Q: *So how did that kill jazz?*

A: It didn't, people are still playing jazz.

Q: *No, but how did it hurt it?*

A: Jazz is adult music, it's not appealing to kids. I'm sure I've played in front of more kids—elementary school kids, high school kids—on my own volition than any performer, but I'm there to teach them. You don't have a bunch of prodigies in jazz, 12- or 13 year-olds. So when you say, why do [young people] only want to sit in front of television and look at somebody naked shaking their ass? Well, the answer to that is obvious. Wouldn't you want to do that when you were 12 or 13?

Q. *So what do we do?*

A: I think that there will be a generation that will reject [it]. If your introduction to sex is pornography and you're 12 or 13, one or two generations of that—it's going to come though girls more than boys—they're going to get tired of [it].

Q: *Self-correcting.*

A: When you notice all the younger women who are suffering, like Britney Spears and Lindsay Lohan and all these people who are kind of victims of this system, and then people prey on them, 250 people taking photographs of them, since they were 12 or 13 years old, selling themselves in that way for the consumption of adults and for kids. It seems we have the inability to look at our system and say, "Man, how did we get to this point?"

Q: *Why do you think it'll be young girls?*

A: I think because they're the greatest victims of it, and a victim of something always is the one who wants it to be removed. Like, who wanted to be free more than a slave?

Q: *Some people have drawn parallels between rap and early jazz music in terms of the emphasis on sexuality, and both of them at the outset were seen as outside of the mainstream.*

A: Early jazz is polyphonic music. Rap is not. The principal component of early jazz is the improvisation and interaction of drums and melody. Rap, the drum is a machine, it doesn't interact with anything. The other thing about early jazz is Jelly Roll Morton. This one man sat down at the piano with Alan Lomax in the '40s and he played John Philip Sousa's marches, ragtime pieces, arias from operas, songs in all kinds of keys. Who in rap can do that?

Q. *I don't know. Is there anyone?*

A: No.

Q: *Will there be someone?*

A: No. That's not possible.

Q: *Why not?*

A: Because there's not enough of the form to create that. It is what it is, it has a lifespan.

Q: *You've talked about the problems in rap and in popular culture. Do you see anything out there that encourages you?*

A: I'm always encouraged. I see that for 350 years, people were enslaved in the United States, and then they weren't slaves. So I believe in change, and I believe in ascendance. Of course, if you give younger people trash from the time they're 11 or 12 you can exploit them.

Q: *You've performed with popular musicians, rock musicians.*

A: I'll play with any kind of musician. I will not record certain types of material because I don't want that on my legacy, okay? That's my personal thing. But as a person I'm not sitting in judgment of them. If I'm talking to 50 Cent or any of these guys, they're people, you know? "You're getting famous being a minstrel and doing all this talking about how you shot black people, you can make some money off of that, that's okay." With my music I will play with anybody, but with all that "bitches" and "niggers" and all of that... Now, I know what it's like to really be called a nigger for real, by black and white people. I'm not interested in presenting that to the world as my expression. And I have to make the point to the younger people in rap, we was black in the '60s, man. We were black in 1974. We wasn't waiting for y'all to tell us what it was to be black. You're a guy from the Something Housing Project with limited education and now you're going to tell me what it means to be a black person in America? Man, you must really think you're in a video.

Q. *Where did the idea that it's more authentic come from?*

A: You know, that's an age-old thing in culture. In America it was Davy Crockett or the Wild West or the bad man who was a gunslinger—that's always been a part of mythology. So this particular version of it is, I'm from the streets, I'm hard, I'm bad, I'm authentic, but the deep thing about it and the point I'm trying to make is that you messed over black people. Who are you calling a bitch? Who you been shooting at?

Q: *There's been some news lately about Isiah Thomas, the coach of the New York Knicks, on using the word "bitch," and who can use it and who can't, at home or in the workplace.*

A: I work with 200 people, man, you know? I never called anybody a bitch. Where is this place where people just go in public, they call people bitches?

Q: *So in terms of your own talent, what do you think was more valuable to you—was it the physical tools or was it that mindset that you had to get better?*

A: I think my greatest attribute was the ability to understand what was going on. I don't know why, I could deduce. Like, when



'The architecture of my lips changed. I didn't know whether I would be able to play, physically.'

I was 13, I could listen to a Beethoven symphony and I could understand, first theme, second, third theme, the development section, so it kind of made me advance, gave me more of an understanding than other kids.

Q: *So that's God-given.*

A: Yeah, it's an ability to understand and perceive form. And not just the form of music, but the form of large things. I could always kind of break the large thing down and say, I can see how states' rights applies to King Oliver's way of playing jazz. People want to do their own thing. M

PHOTOGRAPHS BY YVONNE KERG



What's really killing the Mounties

Dangerous work. No backup. Nasty bosses. Vicious infighting. The RCMP is in ruins. BY JONATHON GATEHOUSE AND CHARLIE GILLIS

It was billed as a major drug bust, significant enough to put a crimp into southern Ontario's cocaine trade. A seven-month undercover sting that culminated in the July 2005 seizure of two kilos of coke, $144,000 in cash, a silencer-equipped 22-calibre pistol, and the arrest of four men alleged to have ties to the Hells Angels, Persian mob, and, as the press release put it, "traditional" organized crime.

But this past Sept. 27, the accused—Trifu Margan, David Lawrence, Randy Singh, and supposed kingpin Sharame (Sean) Sherzady—walked out of a Burlington courthouse scot-free, without ever having to answer the charges. After months of delays, the Crown withdrew the case on the day their preliminary hearings were scheduled to begin because the chief witnesses—five RCMP officers who were at the centre of the investigation—were unavailable to testify. "Officers Claim Illness, Drug Charges Dropped," said the headline in a local paper. The prosecutor and various police agencies—the bust was the work of the elite Golden Horseshoe Combined Special Forces Enforcement Unit (CSFEU)—expressed disappointment. But no one seemed willing to address the reasons a bunch of battle-tested cops have been off the job on stress leave for close to 20 months, or ask why the Mounties appeared willing to let four accused mobsters walk rather than fix the problem.

It's been a long road for Const. Luis Cerritos and his RCMP colleagues from the CSFEU. Sitting in their lawyer's Toronto offices, three of the five recently told their story to *Maclean's*, saying they have been left with no choice but to speak out. In doing so, Cerritos can't hold back the tears. Wearing the red serge was a dream ever since he came to Canada as an 18-year old in 1987. University educated, trilingual, his nine-year career had become a source of considerable pride for his family and others in the Latin American community. For Cerritos, the turning point came in May 2005, when Insp. Jym Grimshaw became his boss. The unit, once a happy and tight-knit group, changed overnight, he says, into a workplace rife with harassment, racist bullying and physical intimidation. "I was being called names that I had never heard before. I started being ashamed of not being white," he says, stifling a sob. "My wife was pregnant at the time and my unborn baby was called a Mexican motherf----er."

As the abuse continued, the stress just got worse. At home, he was either withdrawn or angry. When his newborn daughter cried, Cerritos had to flee the room. At the office, he buried himself in paperwork, finding excuses to avoid his colleagues. He began to "zone out" while behind the wheel, and started worrying that he might freeze or make the wrong decision in a life-or-death situation. "I didn't have a broken leg or a bullet in my chest, yet I couldn't function. I was falling apart and I couldn't control it," he says.

Corp. Gery Markoe, a 14-year-veteran, was having similar difficulties. He couldn't sleep. He spent his weekends dreading the Monday morning return to the office, and started each day on the internal RCMP job site looking for a new position. "We've all dealt with guns and knives and big guys who wanted to beat you up," he says. "But to feel those feelings, to not want to even walk back into your own office, that's something new." Sgt. Peter Kidd, who has spent two decades in the RCMP, found himself experiencing nosebleeds, concentration problems and mood swings.

All of that, however, was nothing compared to what they experienced when they came forward to complain. Suddenly, they were on the defensive, fighting allegations of poor performance, and disciplinary infractions. Ostracized by their colleagues, and asked to continue working in the same office as the boss they feared, the officers all eventually ended up on sick leave—diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder and depression. Since then, they have been effectively cut off from all communication—the force even took away their laptops—and have spent more than a year and a half waiting in vain for someone at RCMP headquarters to address their concerns. The dropped drug case is just the latest in a long line of insults, many of which they refuse to discuss for fear of running afoul of regulations that prohibit them from openly criticizing the force. (Unbeknownst to them, the RCMP had been assuring the Crown and the courts since January that the officers' return to work was imminent. Cerritos first found out about the preliminary hearing when he received a subpoena to testify in mid-September. Like his colleagues, it had been 18 months since he had any access to his notes or case materials.)

It's the kind of workplace hazard that you don't normally associate with the RCMP. Of late, the news has been about the grave dangers of patrol-style policing, such as the man who shot dead 20-year-old Const. Douglas Scott while he responded to a routine drunk-driving call in the hamlet of Kimmirut, Nunavut. Like Const. Chris Worden, killed in Hay River, N.W.T., in early October, Scott was working alone, and the two fatalities have highlighted staffing pressures in Canada's storied national police service that insiders say have been building for years. But the internal, cultural problems underlying those difficulties may prove even more intractable. While the RCMP remains hundreds of officers shy of proper staffing levels, unable to recruit enough young men and women to fill the seats of police cruisers across the country, the force's senior command appears too paralyzed by scandal and too overwhelmed by the sheer scale of its task to properly manage, protect and discipline the members it has.

The effect of this disarray on individual Mounties has been devastating. Internal RCMP documents obtained by *Maclean's* show that one in eight members are now receiving a disability payment, in many cases in addition to their regular salaries. And it's not simply the physical nature of the job. In 2006, 30 per cent of all new disability pensions were granted because of psychological injury. Many were from exposure to predictable traumas—violent crimes, car accidents, shootings. But a growing proportion, notes the document, are from "cumulative and prolonged stress" at work, exacerbated by "cultural factors, such as low supervisor and co-worker support."

This past summer, David Brown, the Toronto lawyer charged with investigating the mishandling of the RCMP's pension and insurance funds, lifted the lid on a much more serious problem, declaring the force's culture, governance and management structure "horribly broken." (A new task force he is chairing will deliver recommendations on how to fix the problems to the Harper government next month.) As a constitutional challenge over legislation that denies RCMP officers the right to unionize looms, the divide between front-line members and their "white shirt" bosses seems wider than ever. According to the results of an internal 2007 survey, only 50 per cent of RCMP employees now believe they are treated fairly by the force, just 54 per cent feel "respected and trusted" by their superiors, and a feeble 26 per cent agree that the force develops capable and competent senior leaders. Much has been made of the recent appointment of William Elliott, a former bureaucrat and "new broom" commissioner who replaced Giuliano Zaccardelli, who resigned in disgrace over the Maher Arar affair. But even with a civilian at the helm, the force's taste—or capacity—for the type of reforms needed to address such widespread concerns remains an open question.

A major drug bust fell apart because five officers couldn't testify—they were on stress leave



CERRITOS SAYS he 'couldn't function. I was falling apart.'

SEAN KILPATRICK/CP

THE CSFEU situation seems a case in point. The lawsuit Cerritos and his four colleagues filed against their old boss and his superiors in May, describes a work environment that was well beyond broken. (The two other officers, Corp. David Hoto and Const. Augie Chung, declined to discuss the case with *Maclean's*.) Behind the office doors, and in public settings, Insp. Grimshaw is said to have used a vast array of slurs to describe Aboriginals, Asians, Hispanics, blacks, Arabs and East Indians, among other ethnic groups, as well as women and homosexuals. Cerritos was regularly called a "spic" or "f---ing Mexican." Chung (who is of Korean extraction) was a "Chink" or "Chinaman." Once, while giving visiting a police officer a tour of the unit, Grimshaw is reported to have remarked: "I have the United Nations here. I'm only missing a nigger, but I'm working on it."

And the abuse, the suit alleges, was not limited to minorities. When his behaviour was questioned, Grimshaw launched into profane tirades against his underlings, and threatened them with poor performance reviews. An imposing man—the inspector is six-foot-five and 285 lb.—he is alleged to have boasted about using "unnecessary physical

force against suspects." At one point, the environment in the office became so poisonous that Sgt. Kidd began wearing his gun inside the station.

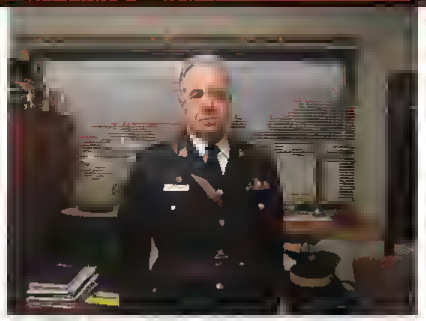
None of the allegations have been proven in court, and the RCMP refuses to discuss the specifics of the complaint. For his part, Grimshaw says the claims are untrue, and that he is looking forward to a court hearing that will enable him to clear his name. "It's going to be very, very odd that the only people who can substantiate what they said about me are the actual five people themselves, and that nobody else in the office heard the same stuff they did," he told *Maclean's*. "I don't think I've ever used the word spic, to tell you the honest to God truth. And as far as the other language goes, I'm respectful of all people." Grimshaw also denies the charges that he physically intimidated or threatened anyone. And if the workplace was dysfunctional, he says, it was due to his accusers' poor performance. "I inherited a unit that was supposed to be elite, that was operating with those people



The widow of one slain officer issued a stinging indictment of the force for 'not doing enough to keep members safe'

in it for three years without making an arrest," says the inspector. "I think their tactic was to get rid of me before I was able to identify their inabilities." Grimshaw does acknowledge that he faced a disciplinary hearing and was sanctioned as a result of his co-workers' complaints.

The way that disciplinary process played out is also part of the officers' lawsuit. For years the RCMP educated officers about the force's harassment policies, and their duty to report any abuse that came to their attention. (In 2004, then-commissioner Zaccardelli had his close friend chief superintendent Ben Soave travel the country to deliver seminars on the policy. That same year, Soave himself was accused of sexual harassment, but retired in April 2005, just before a formal disciplinary process was to be launched.) However, when the CSFEU officers informed superiors of their intention to file a complaint about Grimshaw, his immediate boss, Supt. Don Panchuk, launched his own investigation, pre-empting the harassment process. The result, the lawsuit contends, was a whitewash. Before they went off sick, the officers say they were made to feel the consequences of speaking out, suddenly encountering difficulties filing overtime, or applying for promotion. Sgt. Kidd found himself facing Code of Conduct allegations over the removal of documents from the office, and failing to report his former boss's "wrongdoing" in a timely fashion. In sharp contrast, Grimshaw received a promotion in the fall of 2006, to assistant officer in charge of all CSFEUs in Ontario. He is to retire this January.



JODIE WORDEN (top) blasted the force over the demands placed on officers, Zaccardelli resigned over the Arar affair

TOM HANSON/CP; RITA LEISTNER

It is hard to imagine why the RCMP failed to resolve such a messy dispute before it reached the public domain. Ravaged by personnel shortages and bruised by the pension scandal, the task of selling the force as a nice place to work is difficult enough. In September, personnel managers admitted they will fall 300 bodies short of their 2007 recruiting targets, despite an $800,000 advertising campaign to reach potential applicants. Fully 600 officers are expected to retire in each of the next four or five years, and untold numbers are leaving the force for private sector jobs or other police services. With so many officers disappearing on stress or long-term sick leave, allegations of this sort are the last thing the RCMP needs.

So too is the growing concern about how well it protects its officers. The deaths of eight members in 31 months have prompted usual statements of support from politicians and the police community. But not everybody's repeating the party line. Last week, Const. Worden's widow, Jodie, issued a stinging indictment of the force for "not doing enough to keep members safe." Noting similarities between her husband's death and that of Const. Scott in Kimmirut, who died less than a month later, Worden chided the force for allowing officers to patrol alone late at night—a practice most major police services phased out long ago. She also blasted them for allowing inexperienced officers like Const. Scott to work in two member detachments. "[Senior officers] have no idea of the demands and the expectations that are put on regular mem-

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bers up in the North," Worden told the CBC "They need to send two members to every call That's just an officer safety issue."

The damage wrought by this cycle of bad news is becoming increasingly obvious the more unpleasant the role of Mountie becomes, the harder it is to attract new officers, the more the force's ranks are depleted, the more unpleasant being a Mountie becomes Meanwhile, communities that used to voice unwavering support for their local Mounties are showing less patience for the force's dysfunctions. In Nova Scotia, the municipality of Victoria County voted to withhold $100,000 of its contract fees because its five-member detachment in Baddeck had been down two officers—including its staff sergeant—for six months In Hillsborough, N.B., council was reduced to hiring a private security firm to patrol the village on weekend nights, and is now looking into some form of municipal or regional police service. "It all comes down to the lack of RCMP officers and the size of the geographic area they're supposed to patrol," says Mayor Donna Bennett "The situation we've got just does not make sense I actually feel sorry for officers trying to do the job"

In B C , where nearly a third of RCMP officers are posted—and where critics say criminal networks have gained the upper hand on understaffed Mounties—the stakes are even higher Two weeks ago, the chief constable of the West Vancouver municipal police floated the idea of a regional force on the Lower Mainland, an idea that would remove the cities of Burnaby, North Vancouver, Richmond and Surrey from the RCMP's bailiwick. Kash Heed justified the idea on grounds that the area's patchwork of police forces work in their own silos, leaving it vulnerable to criminals who moved between districts. But his suggestion came on the heels of a shooting in RCMP-patrolled Surrey, in which two innocent bystanders and four people associated with drug trafficking rings the Mounties had known about for years died

Barring a wholesale reorganization of the force, or a massive injection of cash, it's hard to imagine what any task force or new commissioner could do to reverse this drift For now, says Linda Duxbury, a Carleton University professor who has conducted three separate studies of working conditions inside the RCMP, the entire institution is being propped up by the near-pathological dedication of officers who've invested their lives in it "The workloads in the RCMP were among the worst I've seen in any organization," said Duxbury of her 2004 study (her most recent probe, conducted this year, has not yet been released) "But the culture of the organization was literally sick It was focused on the hours you put in, sucking it up, never saying no Anyone who pushed back was labelled a whiner, a loser, someone who just didn't have the right stuff By any objective standard, it was abnormal"

ABNORMAL Horribly broken If William Elliott shares these considered opinions of the police force he just took over, he's keeping it to himself The commissioner declined requests for interviews for this story, leaving the job to deputy Bill Sweeney, a former divisional commander whom he selected to be his right hand man shortly after taking the job While Sweeney acknowledges the existence of harassment, intimidation and despair within the ranks, he holds out hope the task force will spare him and his colleagues more such intemperate findings "We're 26,000 people and we're in the business of dealing with controversy and issues that generate very strong feelings," Sweeney says "We're under a lot of pressure on a constant basis and it's not surprising that relationships within a working environment like policing are often strained"

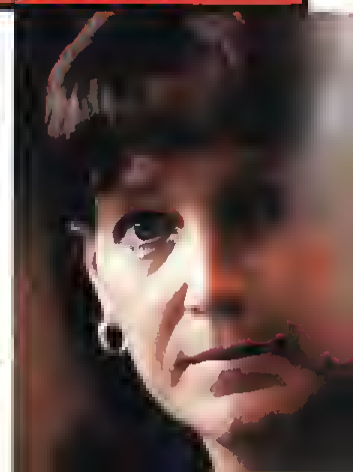
Perhaps But the frequency with which "strong feelings" are metasticizing into embarrassing court battles points to something worse than high-pressure police work The floodgates cracked open seven years ago, when a group of female officers came forward alleging sexual harassment on the part of senior officers, saying their complaints had been downplayed or ignored By May 2006, close to two dozen current and former members had filed affidavits in connection with the upcoming constitutional challenge to the union prohibition, all playing on the same theme: a disturbing tolerance for bad and sometimes borderline criminal behaviour within the force And those with the courage to blow the whistle frequently find themselves wishing they had never complained

Tori Cliffe, a constable in Red Deer, Alta., came forward in 2000, after a fellow female officer reported she had been subjected to unwanted sexual advances and groping by a male colleague during an undercover operation Cliffe had a similar experience with the officer accused, Sgt Robert Blundell, a few years before, but had believed her career would be over if she dared to speak out "I was having a hard time looking in the mirror each day knowing that in my job I had asked hundreds of women to do the same thing," says Cliffe Two other female officers also eventually came forward—with one claiming she had been raped (An RCMP disciplinary investigation accepted Blundell's explanation that the sex had been consensual) For Cliffe, the repercussions were immediate She became the target of gossip and scorn at the office, was forced to change jobs repeatedly, and faced a trumped up Code of Conduct investigation On the other hand, Blundell, who admitted to groping the initial complainant and Cliffe, received a reprimand, a referral for



SCOTT (below) was shot dead on a routine drunk-driving call, Cliffe (bottom) was the subject of scorn after coming forward

One in eight members of the RCMP is now receiving disability pay—more and more for psychological damage



TOM HANSON/CP PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN ULAN

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counselling, and forfeited a day's pay. He is now a staff sergeant in British Columbia.

In 2003, Cliffe and the three other complainants filed a civil suit against the force and Blundell over the affair. The RCMP settled in May 2004, and issued a press release praising the women for their "personal and professional commitment." (The suit against Blundell is not being actively pursued.) To this day, many of Cliffe's colleagues refuse to speak with her. "I opened Pandora's box," she says. "There will always be residual crap and an effect on my career."

For Peter Merrifield, a 41 year-old constable who had distinguished himself doing counterterrorism work in Ontario, the offence was pursuing his constitutional right to seek political office. He had handled his May 2005 bid for the federal Conservative nomination

MERRIFIELD'S offence was pursuing his constitutional right to seek political office



Following a promotion that angered a superior, one officer had a surveillance team assigned to him and his family

in Barrie, Ont., strictly by the book, taking leave without pay even though it was not required. He'd also maintained a clear line when campaigning between his platform and the policies of the force. But that didn't stop senior officers from branding him a trouble maker and casting him into a Kafkaesque state of bureaucratic limbo, he says. No one at headquarters would confirm he was under investigation, yet Merrifield was unceremoniously yanked from his unit and declared "surplus to establishment," a designation that effectively required him to do nothing.

As with Cliffe, Merrifield's attempts to determine why he was being targeted only made things worse. "By then it was personal," he says in an interview. "They were trying to teach me a lesson." Merrifield lost the nomination, but soon after he was accused by an inspector at O Division, the headquarters of Ontario's RCMP operations, of disclosing national security secrets during an interview he'd done with a Toronto radio station. Next came a two year audit of his personal expenses, according to an affidavit Merrifield has filed in support of the constitutional challenge. Again, both inquiries came to nothing.

Merrifield has soldiered on, taking a lesser job in customs and excise enforcement despite efforts by former colleagues to have him reinstated to security intelligence. Others haven't fared so well. Rob Creasser, a constable based in Kamloops, B.C., who has been active in the unionization drive, was slapped with a gag order in August 2006, after telling a local radio station that members needed a clearer explanation of events leading to the fatal shooting of four Mounties near Mayerthorpe, Alta., more than a year earlier. Creasser grieved the order under the force's staff relations policy, and won. But his superiors have offered nothing in the way of explanation or compensation. Two weeks ago, after being diagnosed with major depressive disorder, the veteran officer went off duty.

But the most glaring example is surely the case of Ken Smith. In 2001, the then 25-year veteran won a promotion to staff sergeant in charge of the RCMP's drug sections in Fredericton and Saint John, N.B. However, Smith's boss, Supt. Louis Lefebvre, had wanted the job to go to another officer, and immediately set about trying to discredit his new underling. In November 2002, Smith was hit with 10 Code of Conduct allegations, including swearing at a waiter in a restaurant, and using his police-issue vehicle to visit his father in a Halifax hospital. What he didn't learn until more than a year later is that the case against him was based on covert physical and electronic surveillance by his own colleagues. The RCMP has admitted in court that Lefebvre—with the support of his superior, Chief Supt. Jim Payne, but without a warrant—had a tracking and listening device attached to Smith's car, and a surveillance team assigned to tail him and his family for six weeks.

An internal RCMP panel upheld a harassment complaint by Smith, ruling his bosses abused their power, but they faced few consequences. Payne recently retired, and Lefebvre is now in charge of the provincial office of the Criminal Intelligence Service. Smith, on the other hand, remains off work, waiting for a long-requested transfer out of the province. (A civil suit is winding its way through the courts, as is a private criminal complaint he brought against Lefebvre after the RCMP

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and Crown declined to pursue the matter.) Meanwhile, his wife, also an RCMP officer, suffers daily indignities on the job. This past spring when she returned to work to find the combination to the office doors had been changed, none of her colleagues would provide it to her.

"Louis Lefebvre did an awful lot," says Smith, whose legal bills have now topped more than $400,000. "But the organization supported him right throughout." The real problem, he says, is a deeply ingrained culture of officers who feel they have the power to make—and break—the rules: the type of abuses the McDonald commission probed in the late 1970s. "We were supposed to have learned from that," says Smith. "But certain parts of the force didn't change at all. And they don't even feel bad about it."

WHETHER THE RCMP or its political masters can pull out of their tailspin is a question that may take years to answer. Joe Comartin, the federal NDP justice critic, says the Harper Conservatives, like the Liberals before them, have demonstrated little enthusiasm for the task of overhauling the force. "The RCMP are among the best police forces in the world," says Comartin. "But they have a very archaic, mid-1800s military management culture." Fixing the problem, he says, could take a generation, he adds. Still, the coming months will at least determine the appetite for change.



ELLIOTT IS PROMISING serious reforms—including better protection for whistleblowers

Communities that used to voice unwavering support are showing less patience with the RCMP's dysfunctions



Some rank-and-file members are pinning high hopes to the pending task force report, along with Elliott's recent promise that serious reforms are on the horizon. In an appearance before a Commons committee in September, the commissioner called for protection for whistle-blowers, discipline for wrongdoers, and an ombudsman to handle internal complaints. "We need to have mechanisms and processes in place," he said, "to support a culture of fairness and respect."

The government has certainly empowered Brown's five-member panel to usher in the sort of dramatic change Elliott alluded to, mandating it to examine everything from whether the force needs outside oversight, to how it holds senior management accountable and protects whistle-blowers. But it's difficult to gauge how deeply Brown is delving. Requests for an interview with task force members were declined, and no one from the body was willing to even outline how it is going about its work. An email was sent to all RCMP members a few weeks ago asking for written submissions, along with the suggestion that members with concerns over the way the force does business ask their commanding officers to arrange a town hall meeting. A few have been held, but no one seems that interested in hearing from the whistle-blowers. Bill Gilmour, a Toronto lawyer and former RCMP officer, went public this past spring, saying he has a dozen clients waiting to share stories of serious wrongdoing within the force if they are given protection from reprisals. So far, no one from the task force has contacted him.

No surprise, then, that some 2,000 members have instead thrown their lot in with the nascent union movement, whose constitutional challenge against the RCMP Act and tide of supporting affidavits have at least shown some potential to advance members' rights. "The way my case was handled has made a union supporter out of me," says Merrifield, who normally identifies himself as a small-c conservative, but is now paying his $108 per year to belong to the association. "Believe me, that's saying something."

Yet this too has proven laborious, as the force fights tearguard actions both legal and political to keep the union at bay. Earlier this month, the case was delayed from going to court as RCMP lawyers registered objections to seemingly innocuous intervenors. More infuriating still to association leaders, directors of the RCMP's in-house staff representative program last year tapped a members' legal fund to hire the Ottawa-based lobbyist Summa Strategies to persuade federal MPs

PATRICK DOYLE/CP, GEOFF HOWE/REUTERS



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against legalizing the union through legislative amendments. While the staff representatives control the fund, all RCMP members contribute $52 dollars per year to it, notes Merrifield in a court-filed affidavit. "They are using our money to advocate against us," the document says. "I believe this is an abuse."

What does seem clear is that the RCMP's accountability problems extend far beyond the walls of Ottawa HQ—a fact with implications for civilians as well as officers themselves. Unlike other police organizations in Canada, the force remains answerable only to itself. When a member of the public has a beef, the standard practice is for the RCMP to investigate the case and decide whether to pass it on to the outside Commission for Public Complaints (CPC). In turn, that body relies on facts and testimony gathered by the force to determine if rules or laws have been broken, then submits a finding that may still be overturned by the RCMP commissioner. In its 2006-07 annual report, the CPC noted that more than half of its adverse findings were overruled, with Zaccardelli or his interim replacement Bev Busson substituting their own assessments of evidence and witness credibility. "Right now the commissioner gets two licks at the spoon," says CPC chair Paul Kennedy. "We have a model of police review that is based on a time that has passed us by."

'We have a model of police review,' says Kennedy, 'that is based on a time that has passed us by'



THE FORCE EXPECTS to come up 300 bodies short of its 2007 recruitment target

THERE WAS A LARGE and thirsty crowd for Jym Grimshaw's retirement party at a dingy bar in an Oakville shopping plaza on Nov. 7. The tributes—official and unofficial—took more than an hour. Glenn Lickers, chief of the Six Nations Police, honoured Grimshaw with a piece of handcrafted native pottery. RCMP Supt. Mark Fleming, his current boss at the Toronto CSFEU, called Grimshaw his "saviour," read an official letter of appreciation from Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty, and made a laughing reference to "certain legal matters we have to deal with." Others mentioned the inspector's leadership skills, empathy and ability as a "natural humorist." There were also a couple of choice excerpts from his service record. "His men would follow him anywhere, but only out of a morbid sense of curiosity," wrote one wag.

When it was Grimshaw's turn to take the stage, the emcee warned those with "sensitive ears" to leave the bar, and asked those who remained to turn off their recording devices. The guest of honour didn't disappoint. He poked fun at his wife, a stammering colleague, and his vertically challenged boss. And while there were no stories about big busts, or dangerous on-the-job experiences, Grimshaw did share an epic 10-minute tale of how he once "s- t his pants" after four days of "all drinking, all the time" at a police conference in Denver. There were also some heartfelt moments as he reflected back on his 37 years of service. "I'm not leaving like some guys do, people who are disgruntled and s- t," said Grimshaw, pausing to pay special respect to his new boss Fleming. "I was in the penalty box. I don't think anybody wanted to touch me because I had leprosy," he said. "Mark made me feel comfortable about coming back, about still fitting in and stuff, because there was a lot of crap going on at the time. You guys may have read about it." The crowd joined in his laughter.

Grimshaw's five former colleagues can't afford to be so free with their words. Still desperate to return to the job despite all that has transpired, their biggest fear now is that they could be charged under the RCMP Act if management deems them to have been openly critical of the force. "I'd like to think I have a strong sense of duty. And part of that duty is being guided by a set of RCMP core values: honesty, integrity, respect and accountability," says Peter Kidd. "I was compelled to tell the truth at any cost. That's what we teach our kids." Gery Markle, who struggles daily with the "embarrassment" of having PTSD, admits to feeling betrayed, but will go no further. It's left to Luis Cerritos to say what they are all thinking: blowing the whistle hasn't been worth the trouble. "I would take it all back if I could. I would rather go back to writing tickets instead of going through this."

The officers' in-house advocate, staff relations representative Staff Sgt. Kim Floyd, says it is the most difficult case he has ever dealt with. "For whatever reason, the very process that is there to protect members failed these guys, and failed them miserably." No evidence of the type of performance issues that Grimshaw alleges has ever been brought forward, he says. Floyd has now met with two successive commissioners to try to resolve things. Bev Busson launched a review of the case following an April tête-à-tête. It was completed in July, and apparently found several shortcomings in RCMP procedures. The five CSFEU members finally received copies on Oct. 2, the day Floyd met with William Elliott. The new commissioner has since asked Bill Sweeney to again look into the matter. He says he is still gathering facts, and hasn't set a deadline for his investigation. However, one issue Sweeney will be probing is why the situation was allowed to fester so long that a major drug case was dropped. "When I first became aware of the case that's one of the questions I asked," he says. "And I don't have the answer." M

ON THE WEB: For more RCMP troubles and coverage of the funeral for fallen Mountie Douglas Scott, go to **macleans.ca/rcmp**

RITA LEISTNER





KARLHEINZ Schreiber alleges Mulroney took cash to lobby on his behalf, but did nothing

Prime ministers and their friends

Harper, among others, has ignored a lot about Airbus over the years



ANDREW COYNE

Scandal time again. Once more the country is consumed with tales of politicians taking envelopes full of cash from shady businessmen. As pressure for a public inquiry grows, the air is full of official denials. And of course the question on everyone's lips is what did the whole country know, and when did we all know it?

Well, no. The script for these things, sanctioned by long usage, calls for the opposition to demand of whoever's in charge, be he president or prime minister: what did *he* know and when did *he* know it? Wasn't Stephen Harper sent a letter by Karlheinz Schreiber seven months ago, containing many of the allegations in last week's sensational affidavit—among them, that Schreiber had struck a deal with Brian Mulroney, two days before the former prime minister left office in 1993, that would see him provide Mulroney with "some funds" in exchange for Mulroney's services, notably in lobbying the new government? Hadn't Harper been sent another letter to the same effect just six weeks ago? How could he pretend he was unaware of these allegations until last week? Are we to take seriously his office's explanation, that the letters never reached his desk?

All very good questions, and all more or less beside the point. What I want to know is not whether the Prime Minister reads rambling private letters from fugitive international arms dealers, but whether he reads the *Globe and Mail*, or watches the CBC. There was more than enough on the public record that ought to have excited his interest in "protecting the office of the prime minister," long before Schreiber's lawsuit against Mulroney—he alleges the former prime minister did nothing to earn the money he paid him—came to court. That Schreiber made payments to Mulroney totalling $300,000 shortly after he left office has been public knowledge for four years, ever since their existence was first reported in the *Globe*. How the payments were made—in cash, in envelopes, in hotel rooms—has been known for nearly as long, as detailed in William Kaplan's book *A Secret Trial*.

It was likewise public knowledge that Mulroney, notwithstanding this relationship, had later claimed, under examination in his famous 1995 libel suit against the government of Canada, that "he had never had any dealings" with Schreiber. Mulroney had sued the government for alleging, in a letter to the Swiss government, that he had taken money from Schreiber in connection with the 1988 Air Canada purchase of 34 passenger jets from Airbus Industrie. It is unlikely, to say the least, that the government would have agreed to settle the case, with the payment of $2.1 million and an apology, had it known of the payments.

All of this, as I say, is old news. It would all have been well known to Harper, not just before his dramatic admission last Friday that the Mulroney-Schreiber affair might indeed warrant a public inquiry, but as early as 2003—before the merger of the Progressive Conservatives and the Canadian Alliance, before Harper's election as leader of the new Conservative party, before he chose, the better to consummate the merger, to take Mulroney into his counsel, and to embrace him publicly. The former prime minister of Canada is acknowledged to have taken $300,000 in cash from a man of Schreiber's repute—a prolific and self-confessed dispenser of bribes to public officials, he is currently in jail, awaiting extradition to Germany on charges of fraud and tax evasion—and no alarm bells rang. Business as usual.

This coziness continued, even as the revelations mounted. It has been public knowledge since February 2006 that the cash Schreiber passed to Mulroney was Airbus cash—as the CBC program *the fifth estate* reported, it was paid out of a Swiss bank account, code-named "Britan," one of several accounts Schreiber set up to handle the millions of dollars in secret commissions he was paid on the Airbus sale. There's no way of knowing whether Mulroney was aware of this, nor is there any evidence that he played any part in the Airbus deal. But still: was this not at least cause for concern? Even after it had been reported that Mulroney had gone to extraordinary lengths to cover up the payments—Schreiber claims he was encouraged to sign an affidavit asserting he had never paid Mulroney anything—the Conservatives continued to stonewall, culminating in Harper's extraordinary threat, just days before accepting the need for an inquiry, to launch retaliatory inquiries into his Liberal predecessors.

IT IS PERPLEXING HOW SOMEONE OF SCHREIBER'S OBVIOUS ODOUR MANAGED TO GAIN SUCH ACCESS TO THE CORRIDORS OF POWER

So Harper is tied to Mulroney, as Mulroney is tied to Schreiber, not by any opposition insinuations or press vendettas, but by their own appalling lapses in judgment. Harper says he was shocked to see his name appear in Schreiber's affidavit—allegedly, Schreiber provided Mulroney with a letter, which Mulroney was to show to Harper at a later meeting as proof the two were "on good terms." A dubious story, perhaps, but the possibility would not have arisen had Harper not been on such close terms with Mulroney. Harper says he did not ask Mulroney at the meeting about his dealings with Schreiber. Fine. Did he ask him about them at any other time? Harper says the fact that Schreiber's latest allegations were made under oath gave them greater weight than before. But Schreiber could have been put under oath at any time in the last four years: just sit him down and have him write out what he knows in an affidavit.

Yet neither the Conservatives nor, strangely, the Liberal government before them seemed remotely interested in finding out what he knows—certainly not compared to the alacrity with which they have sought his extradition. Indeed, they have studied not to know much of the case at all. Justice Department officials reportedly considered, once those mysterious envelopes full of cash came to light, an attempt to recover the $2.1-million settlement. Nothing came of it. Civil servants prepared reports on Schreiber and Airbus for various ministers, yet no one read them. One is left with the distinct impression that the government's approach to the whole mess amounted to hoping Schreiber would, quite literally, go away.

But then, they could be forgiven for indulging this hope. If the Conservatives have shown little interest in pursuing the matter, it is perhaps because, for the last four years, neither has anyone else—not the police, not the opposition, not most of the media. We have all been sitting on a powder keg, and yet everyone has affected not to notice. One might speculate as to the reasons for this uncharacteristic quietude—libel chill, in the wake of Mulroney's lawsuit and the government's apology, embarrassment, after so much ink and reputation had been invested in his exoneration, a certain righting of the scales, after the mauling he took while in office—but it remains one of the more remarkable instances of collective myopia on record. Kaplan's book was scarcely reviewed. Fresh revelations passed without comment. Mulroney, meanwhile, has been feted at society functions, praised for his environmental record, celebrated at book launches.

Ah well. Perhaps an inquiry will decide that there is a perfectly innocent explanation for all of this: why the cash, why the secrecy, what Mulroney did for the money, what he did *with* it, how $300,000 in cash equalled "had never had any dealings," and so on. But the questions raised by this affair extend well beyond Mulroney. Nearly 20 years after the Airbus deal was signed, and 12 years after the first definitive reports that secret commissions were being paid, in explicit violation of the contract, we still don't know who got the rest of the money, or for what. Schreiber is known to have been paid some $20 million, $600,000 per plane. His bank records show that about half this amount was doled out, by means of his labyrinth of bank accounts, to various "Canadian friends." Some of these are known. Some are not.

Equally perplexing is how someone of Schreiber's obvious odour was able to gain such access to the corridors of power. A former justice minister, a former solicitor general, even a former Supreme Court justice numbered amongst his friends and clients, to say nothing of his close and well-documented relationship with Mulroney and his circle, dating back to the early 1980s.

In broader terms, then, the issue is not just Mulroney, or Schreiber, or Airbus. It's the ability of this country to hold people in high places to account. Had a former president of the United States been found taking cash from a known bribe merchant, six congressional committees would have been convened on the spot. Years too late, a public inquiry would seem the least we could do. M

IN FACT, WE KNOW QUITE A LOT ABOUT WHO KNEW WHAT ABOUT AIRBUS, AND WHEN THEY KNEW IT





MULRONEY got a $2.1-million libel settlement from the government over the Airbus affair

aedrew.coyee@macleans.rogers.com

SO LONG SENATE?

Can Harper and Layton fix the upper chamber? Don't hold your breath.

BY JOHN GEDDES • There have been 13 attempts to reform the Canadian Senate since 1900, all failures. It remains a haven for lucky partisan appointees. Even Senator Serge Joyal—who once edited a whole book advancing the startling proposition that the Senate is really a pillar of democracy—calls it the country's "least admired" national institution. Stephen Harper had been pursuing a strategy of incrementally improving the upper chamber, proposing first to limit senators' terms to eight years, and establish, if not direct election of senators, then at least a mechanism for consulting voters on who the prime minister appoints.

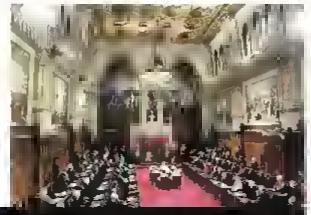
But Harper has now opened up the possibility of a more sweeping overhaul. In a typical case of his reading the chessboard of parliamentary possibilities, he saw a chance for a surprise tactical stroke after harmless-looking moves by Tory Senator Hugh Segal and NDP Leader Jack Layton. Segal started the ball rolling last month by independently proposing a referendum on abolishing the Senate, his way of trying to draw attention to the need for real reform by putting the ultimate alternative on the table. Layton echoed Segal's proposal, except the NDP really does want the Senate scrapped. Harper connected the dots, phoning Layton to offer his unexpected support for an NDP motion in the House calling for such a referendum.

Of course, Harper doesn't suddenly want the Senate eliminated. He hopes a referendum would offer Canadians a chance to vote for reform. Layton and Segal, though, both suggest a stark question on abolition to garner a clear expression of popular will. It's not obvious how both options can be offered on the same ballot. Federal referendum law requires a yes or no question, and doesn't allow multiple-choice plebiscites.

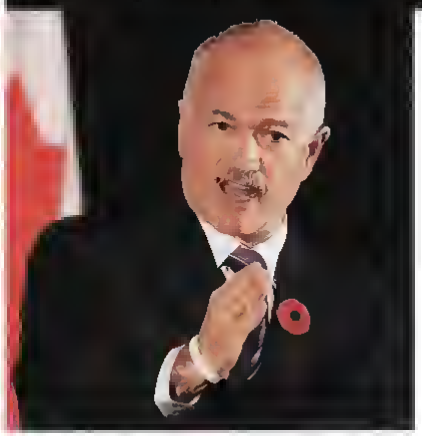
Given the confusion over what sort of question would be asked, it's not clear exactly what the Prime Minister is up to. Some Liberals suggest his real goal is to again isolate their leader, Stephane Dion, who came out opposing a referendum as an empty ploy, since Senate reform would still require provincial approval. Layton dismissed the notion that embarrassing Dion was Harper's aim as "Conspiracy Theory 101."

Dion is quite right, though, that a referendum would be non-binding. To turn its result into action, Ottawa would have to plunge into negotiations with the provinces to amend the Constitution. Harper had been careful, up to now, not to raise the prospect of another round of bargaining along the lines of the Meech Lake accord. Yet that would seem to be the most likely endgame of his latest gambit. "If a referendum builds any momentum for changing the Senate," says Patrick Monahan, dean of York University's Osgoode Hall Law School, "it is likely to give rise to other constitutional agendas."

Here's how it might play out. Ottawa would ask Canadians about the Senate in a referendum held in conjunction with the next federal election. Depending on the question, Canadians might vote for abolition, or for an elected, updated Senate. Either way, some provinces would object, or ask for concessions in exchange for agreeing to the change. Monahan says Ottawa would likely follow the regional veto formula set out in a 1996 law, under which British Columbia, Quebec and Ontario would all have to be onside, along with Alberta and at least one of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and at least two Atlantic provinces. It's an even tougher standard than the basic amending formula of seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population. "In fact," Monahan says, "it raises the requirement to 92 per cent of the population."



SUCH A CHANGE WOULD REQUIRE ROUGHLY 92% SUPPORT NATIONALLY



NDP LEADER Jack Layton wants to see the Senate abolished

Few who lived through Meech Lake or Charlottetown would bet on this test being met in constitutional horse-trading, even if Canadians had signalled an overwhelming preference. In fact, there's no guarantee a referendum would produce such a decisive result. A poll this week by Ipsos Reid Public Affairs found 45 per cent would abolish the Senate if the alternative was the status quo, but 41 per cent would keep it. (The other 14 per cent didn't know or wouldn't answer.) If the choice is between turning the Senate into an elected body or disbanding it, 54 per cent favoured reform, but 24 per cent would still get rid of it.

Uncertain popular opinion, conflicting goals among those pushing for a referendum, constitutional rules that make big changes very difficult—it all adds up to long odds against this latest bid for Senate reform succeeding. And that would be 14 tries since 1900, and counting. M

FOR THE RECORD

AUTHOR VOWS TO FIGHT BAZOONGA BAN

"What they say about my grandmother is true. She does have generous bazoongas, and all of Tarragon Island has seen them."—Heather Blake, a fictional heroine of the children's novel *Trouble on Tarragon Island*. The phrase "generous bazoongas" got the book banned in a school library in the small Saskatchewan town of Kindersley. In response, author Nikki Tate vowed to fight the ban by giving copies away at the local mall.

JOHN WOODS/CP, REUTERS

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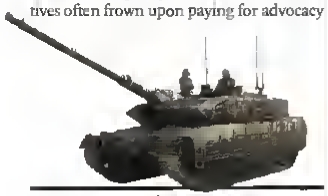
A New Level of Accord.

This op-ed is brought to you by...

BY JOHN GEDDES • A newspaper reader turns to the op-ed page and finds a commentary supporting the mission in Afghanistan written by a retired general or colonel writing for the Conference of Defence Associations. Or the reader scans a story on the purchase of military hardware in which Paul Manson, the former chief of defence staff, or another distinguished retired officer affiliated with the CDA, is quoted supporting the move. The comments dovetail with Conservative policy, but are presented as the views of an expert, independent group.

Just how independent, though, is open to debate. The CDA gets $100,000 a year from the Department of National Defence expressly for advocating on military matters. The department refused to release its funding agreement with the CDA to *Maclean's*, saying it went to cabinet and is therefore secret. But Alain Pellerin, retired colonel and CDA executive director, outlined some details. The CDA must produce a quarterly magazine, for instance, and conduct symposiums for students. "We also have to write," Pellerin said, "a number of op-eds to the press."

Requiring a taxpayer-subsidized advocacy group to make its case through the media to qualify for annual renewal of its funding is not standard policy. In fact, the Conservatives often frown upon paying for advocacy work at all. To cite a contentious area, the 2007-08 federal guidelines for women's groups make domestic advocacy and lobbying ineligible for any funding support.



THE CDA gets $100,000 a year from the Department of Defence

Pellerin said the CDA remains independent, but he conceded, "It's walking a fine line at times." Asked if there is any aspect of Tory defence policy the CDA opposes, he couldn't think of one. Back when the Liberals were in power, things were different. Pellerin said the CDA briefly lost its federal support, which goes back to 1932, because then defence minister John McCallum was "annoyed" over its persistent calls for more defence spending. M

An Alberta sucker punch for Stelmach

BY NICHOLAS KÖHLER • After a speech last week promoting the Manning Centre for Building Democracy, his Calgary based think tank, to an exclusive crowd of conservatives—one time strategist Rick Anderson, Ralph Klein lieutenant Rod Love, former EnCana head Gwyn Morgan, to name a few—Preston Manning stepped into a Calgary hotel corridor and submitted to a form of interrogation he's apparently no longer very comfortable with: the press scrum. While reporters stuck to the evening's agenda (programs the Manning Centre has introduced to train policy makers and journalists), Manning was happy enough. Then someone asked about Premier Ed Stelmach.

The query dangled there like a bit of jugular before a reformed vampire. Manning, Reform party founder and once leader of the official Opposition, winced, recoiled, and briefly fell into his trademark stammer. Then, suddenly, he was reiterating the very critique that had prompted the question in the first place—the sucker punch visited upon Stelmach early this month. "The bigger question with Premier Stelmach and the administration is one of its competence," he'd said. "Does it have the competence to deal with these big-picture issues?" Failure to demonstrate "competence," he repeated, could lose Stelmach the next election.

Many were shocked by the attack, triggered by Stelmach's unveiling last month of a new royalties plan raising the dues paid by oil and gas firms to the province. Though he'd given serious thought to seeking the PC leadership last spring, Manning was no longer a contender, after all. Some in Calgary conservative circles were aghast he did not use more diplomatic language. Others wondered whether he wouldn't return to the fray—or, more likely, that he may be grooming a dark horse in his stead. Manning denies this and even that his remarks last month were political. "I don't consider that partisan," he told *Maclean's*. "It's just a judgment of the competence of an administration. And I was fairly careful to say I think Mr. Stelmach is sincere and honest in what he's doing." He added, however: "That word is being used a lot around industry circles right now."

Indeed, his unsparing tone is a measure of just how angry energy industry types—people like Gwyn Morgan, who introduced Manning to the conservative crowd last week—remain a month after Stelmach's announcement. "It's impossible to raise money for the party right now," says an insider. "The oil and gas industry just feels betrayed by this government. You try and say, 'Look what the Liberals would do, look what the NDP would do.' They say, 'We don't care. We just think these guys have screwed us.' " Not that the party's broke; its war chest is said to be ample enough to fight two elections. But fundraising troubles worry party mandarins, for good reason. "There is now a large gap that spans the resource communities of central and northern Alberta and a large chunk of the oil patch offices in Calgary that Mr. Stelmach has vacated on the grounds that they don't have anywhere else to go," says the University of Lethbridge's Geoffrey Hale. "There is a vacuum crying out for someone to fill it."



MANNING says Stelmach's energy plan suggests 'incompetence'

So, does Manning regret ceding to others the "cockpit" controls of a "$35-billion operation"—his metaphor for the job of premier—by not running? Again, Manning, speaking by cellphone from a Toronto taxi, stammers. "It was a hard decision. I have a great affection for Alberta," he says, adding he's content with the Manning Centre. His concerns with Stelmach's plan aren't necessarily linked to higher dues. "I've never disagreed that there isn't room to increase royalty revenue," he says. But he's skeptical of its approach to natural gas, where prices remain low, and efforts to persuade oil-sands giants Suncor and Syncrude to renegotiate existing contracts.

Such worries aren't unique. Manning's nuance is that the plan neglects larger issues like how to link royalties with federal tax structures, environmental costs and North American energy security—all things that hit the bottom lines of industry and government similarly. "If you're running the government of Alberta, somebody's got to be looking at the big picture, tying these things all together—and I just haven't seen that," he says. A veteran of internecine battles with the likes of Stockwell Day and Stephen Harper, Manning hasn't lost his taste for the fight. Too bad for Alberta his chance to govern seems to have come and gone. M

CP





HYPOCRISY The West has condemned Musharraf's imposition of emergency rule but still declares him a staunch ally

WORTH THE TROUBLE?

Pakistan's Musharraf is portrayed as an indispensable sentry against terrorism. But is he doing more harm than good?

BY MICHAEL PETROU

When the going gets tough, Pakistani President Gen. Pervez Musharraf likes to strap on a gun. In his 2006 memoir *In the Line of Fire*, Musharraf notes that his favourite side arm is a Glock 17 pistol, which he always keeps handy. "I am cut out to be in midst of battle—trained, prepared, and equipped," he writes. "Fate and the confluence of events have seen to it that Pakistan and I are in the thick of the fight against terrorism. My training has made me constantly ready for the assignment."

Musharraf's memoir contains some passages he now no doubt regrets. At one point, the man who just recently clamped down on his country's political opposition by declaring a state of emergency—in advance of a court ruling that was widely expected to declare his October re-election illegal—gravely remarks that martial law is never an answer to political malaise. But the bulk of his autobiography reflects the image that he has carefully cultivated ever since September 2001, when he abruptly ended Pakistan's support for the Taliban government in neighbouring Afghanistan and threw his country behind U.S. President George W. Bush's war on terror. Musharraf portrays himself as a frontier sheriff holding the line against terrorists who threaten not only Pakistan, but the entire world. Without him, the implication is, al-Qaeda would grow in strength and, in the most apocalyptic of scenarios, Islamists might take control of a nuclear-armed state.

The fact that in the six years since Sept. 11, 2001, numerous terrorist plots have been linked to Pakistan, that the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan is fed with recruits from Pakistani madrasas, that Islamist extremists now thrive in much of Pakistan's Tribal Areas, and that al-Qaeda's top leadership is suspected to be hiding on Pakistani soil, simply demonstrates the intensity of the struggle Musharraf is leading, rather than any failing or lack of effort on his part.

"Pakistan is the one country in the world that has done the maximum in the fight against terrorism," Musharraf writes. "It is disappointing that despite our deep commitment and immense sacrifices, some people continue to tell tendentious stories casting aspersions on our counterterrorism operations and on the contributions we have made. We have lost more men than any other country—and we fight on." Musharraf has been just as defensive in person, dismissing any suggestion that Pakistan is abetting the insurgency in Afghanistan in which dozens of Canadians have died. "So you suffered two dead, and there's a crying and shout all around the place that there are coffins," he said in a Canadian radio interview last year. "Well, we've had 500 coffins. So you think we are not fighting?"

The United States clearly believes that Pakistan is fighting terror and has stood by its ally. Musharraf, who took power in a 1999 military coup, hardly lived up to Bush's rhetoric about spreading democracy in the Middle East, even in the early days of his presidency. But Musharraf's co-operation in Afghanistan was judged too valuable to risk losing, and his military rule was rather mild by the standards of other leaders in the region.

This month, however, Musharraf cast aside most of the trappings of democracy that had existed in Pakistan. Blaming the threat posed by Islamist extremists and a lack of co-operation from the judiciary in the fight against terrorism, he declared a state of emergency, suspended the constitution and effectively imposed martial law. Thousands of lawyers and opposition political activists were arrested, Supreme Court Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry was sacked and placed under house arrest, critical television stations were shut down, access to foreign news networks such as CNN and BBC was blocked, and at least three foreign correspondents were ordered to leave the country.

The U.S. and its allies now face a stark decision. Is it worth it to support Musharraf in the face of authoritarian thuggery that mocks any pretense of democracy and the rule of law? Does the security he allegedly provides justify our hypocrisy when we speak about the virtues of democracy? Are the alternatives too dangerous to risk?

The Bush administration has made its choice. It condemned Musharraf's imposition of emergency rule, as did Canada. But American Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte told Congress that Musharraf is an "indispensable" ally in the war on terror. American aid to Pakistan, which has totalled more than US$10 billion since 2001 and is mostly of a military nature, will almost certainly continue, as will Canada's package of $50 million a year, which is directed at humanitarian projects.

President Musharraf is either indispensable in the fight against terrorism, in which case his support is arguably worth that kind of money, or he's a very clever actor who has fooled everyone who's backed him for the last six years.

According to Ashley Tellis, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, supporting Musharraf is the right decision. The risks associated with losing his friendship are simply too great. "He has been willing to co-operate with us in the counterterrorism effort in a way that probably few other Pakistanis would," Tellis said in interview with *Maclean's*. "Now, he came to this position reluctantly, and he has performed imperfectly. But when you weigh him relative to many of the alternatives, I think the view in the administration is that it could not get the kind of co-operation that we are currently getting from other leaders in Pakistan."

Tellis believes there are three likely alternatives to Musharraf. The first is another military leader, similar to Musharraf himself. The second is a civilian leader, such as Benazir Bhutto, the former prime minister whose recent return to Pakistan was marred by an assassination attempt that killed 150 people. The third possible alternative is the ascension to power of religious extremists. Tellis believes this third outcome is the most unlikely, and would only come to pass as a result of some sort of national catastrophe, such as defeat in war.

Tellis says that it is in the best interests of the West that a civilian leader governs Pakistan "at some point." However, "if that civilian leader does not enjoy the confidence of the armed forces, then it's very difficult for that leader to make decisions of the kind Musharraf can make very easily—decisions about what kind of assistance ought to be offered for U.S. counterterrorism efforts, what sort of operations ought to be conducted on the frontier, or within Pakistan itself. Right now the problem is there are no civilian leaders on the horizon who one could comfortably say would be trusted by the military and therefore would be able to do what Musharraf is doing in counterterrorism operations."

This leaves a final option: another military general. The problem here, Tellis says, is that there are no guarantees that a different strongman would be any less "imperfect" in opposing terrorism than Musharraf. Pakistan's military and intelligence agencies backed the Taliban since its inception in 1994 and have been reluctant to sever these ties. They see the Taliban as a means to project power in Afghanistan and harass the government of Hamid Karzai, who they see as an ally of their enemy, India.

"These kinds of concerns would be things that would afflict any replacement of Musharraf," Tellis says. "Anyone who replaces him is going to be a victim of the same set of compunctions." And, Tellis adds, "What you have here is a record of eight years' investment in this one guy. So if you confront the choice of the devil you know, versus the alternative, which is someone who may or may not be as co-operative and may turn out to be worse, that's when people retreat into the tried and true and the tested and say, 'Okay, for all his failings, let's just stay with him.' I think that policy is the best of the worse choices."

Daniel Markey, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a former State Department specialist on South Asia, agrees. He says that Musharraf "the man is not indispensable, but Pakistan is. And as long as Musharraf is running Pakistan, the United States needs a close relationship with him." "The cost to Washington of shifting away from Musharraf while he still retains power is too high," he told *Maclean's*.

Markey says that many Pakistanis believe America's friendship is a cynical fair weather alliance. Any hard measures the United States might take against Musharraf now would simply reinforce that perception. "If you want the Pakistani army to really go after

PROTESTING against Musharraf's crackdown on civil society: lawyers and journalists demonstrate in Pakistan

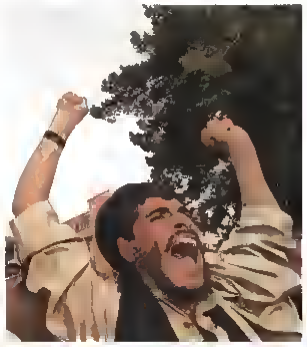




"HE HAS BEEN WILLING TO CO-OPERATE IN COUNTERTERRORISM IN A WAY FEW OTHERS WOULD"

AP REUTERS

militants, and you want to convince them that working with militants, which is something they've done historically, is a bad idea and doesn't serve their purposes long-term, and that the United States is going to be around to help them achieve security and will be a partner for as far as the eye can see, then you'd better not jeopardize the confidence-building that you're trying to do by threatening to cut off assistance," he says







PAKISTANI Taliban now hold sway over much of the country's mountainous Tribal Areas. And their reach is spreading

'THERE IS NO WILL TO DEAL WITH THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF EXTREMISM IN PAKISTAN'

Tellis and Markey advocate a stance toward Musharraf that stresses security and practical results rather than democratic ideals. Such a philosophy was neatly summed up by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who reportedly referred to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza as a son of a bitch, before adding "but he's our son of a bitch."

But what if sticking with Musharraf despite his crackdown on civil liberties is not only morally distasteful, but also against the interests of the United States and its allies, including Canada?

Any judgment of Musharraf's worth to the West must begin with an evaluation of Pakistan's fight against Islamist extremists such as al-Qaeda and the Taliban. The results are mixed, but disappointing. Most analysts believe that Musharraf has hit hard against al-Qaeda, whose cadres are often non-Pakistani Arabs and Central Asians, but is reluctant to confront the Taliban—either the homegrown variety, or those from across the border in Afghanistan who find safe haven in Pakistan.

In the Pakistani frontier city of Quetta, "you can see the Taliban," says Frederic Grare, a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "For him, it's perfectly fine to trade off international terrorists, who can be arrested and traded for Western goodwill, in exchange for some leeway in Afghanistan. That's the kind of policy he's been pursuing since 2001. It's never stopped."

Vali Nasr, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, describes Musharraf's efforts against Islamist extremists as sporadic. "He has collaborated with the West selectively, giving up jihadis when necessary to placate Washington," he says. "Those who get out of line and attack his regime obviously get dealt with. But there is no will to deal with the infrastructure of extremism in Pakistan. He is closing down liberal television and radio stations, while pro-Taliban radio stations are operating in Pakistan, calling people to jihad."

Pakistani security forces have captured several high-profile international terrorists, including Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the suspected planner of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, among several other atrocities. "Those who habitually accuse us of 'not doing enough' in the war on terror should simply ask the CIA how much prize money it has paid to the government of Pakistan," Musharraf writes in his memoir. But Pakistan's efforts against the Taliban have yielded fewer results. Not only do Taliban insurgents in Afghanistan habitually seek and obtain refuge in Pakistan, but Pakistani Taliban now hold sway over much of Pakistan's mountainous Tribal Areas that border Afghanistan. And their reach is spreading.

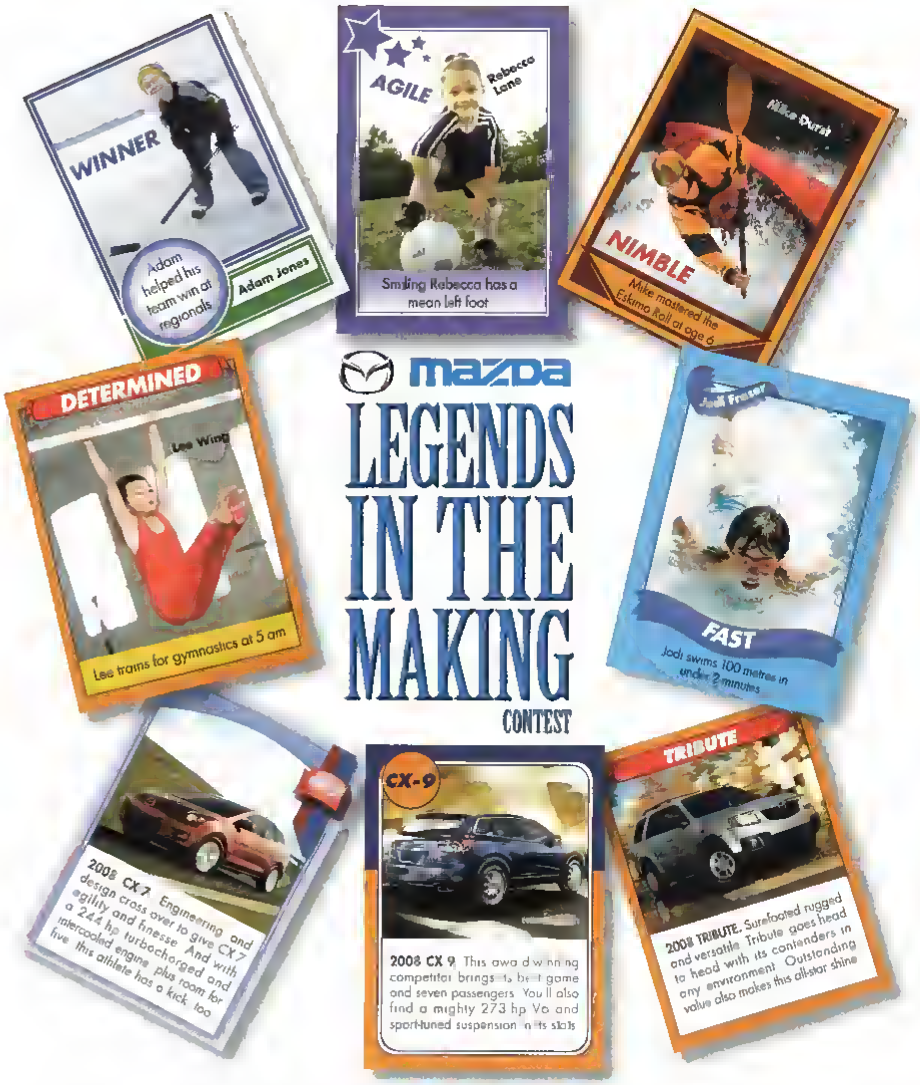
This reporter spent several weeks travelling in and around the Tribal Areas of Pakistan less than a year before the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks. The Swat Valley, with its fruit groves, clear rivers and cool, pine-covered hills, was one of the most relaxing places in the country. An innkeeper waxed nostalgic about the hippie trekkers, especially the women, who came to stay in the valley during the 1960s and '70s. In the frontier town of Dara Adam Khel, famous for the expert production of illegal guns and assorted weaponry, a cheerful guide showed us around the various workshops and indulged our request to test-fire the merchandise.

Today, much of the Swat Valley is under the control of a radical pro-Taliban cleric, Maulana Fazlullah, whose followers have ransacked girls' schools and captured or killed Pakistani soldiers sent to confront them. At least four police officers have been publicly beheaded in recent weeks. Dara Adam Khel is now also controlled by the Taliban, who have reportedly banned music and television and demanded that women wear burkas. The town still sells guns, but DVDs of beheadings are also for sale in the bazaar. The victims are accused of being spies for the American or Pakistani governments. Dar Adam Khel is no longer a pleasant destination for Western backpackers.

"Musharraf has promised a great deal in the war against terrorism and delivered very little," says Bruce Riedel, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy. "I think it's well understood that the resurgence of the Taliban that we've seen in the last several years is the direct result of the government of Pakistan turning a blind eye to their recruitment, their fundraising, and their political and propaganda activities in places like Quetta and Baluchistan."

Daniel Markey at the Council on Foreign Relations agrees that Pakistan was slow to turn against the Taliban, but argues that it is finally doing so and faces a monumental challenge. "Now they're realizing that this job is going to test them, their army and intelligence services, to the core," he says. "It's not just a lack of will. Their capacity to deal with this insurgency—because that's what it's turning into in Pakistan—is in question."

AFP/GETTY IMAGES; AP



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Markey says this explains why the Pakistani army has been so eager to cut deals with Pakistani Taliban in the Tribal Areas of the country—much to the frustration of Canadian and other coalition troops who face these militants across the border in Afghanistan. The army isn't sure it can militarily defeat tribal fighters, and is reluctant to launch large-scale offensives against fellow countrymen and Muslims. Instead, it's tried to bring development assistance to the region and negotiate peace with local partners. "And that hasn't worked," Markey said. "It hasn't worked in the near-term, and they know it. But they don't have another great solution. And neither do we."

MUSHARRAF TRAMPLED CIVIL SOCIETY—PEOPLE WHO HAVE SHARED VALUES WITH THE WEST





SOME BELIEVE that the West's firm support for Musharraf only frustrates progress Pakistan could make against extremists

Whether the primary problem is a lack of will or ability, or the enormity of the task, the end result is that Islamist extremism has flourished in Pakistan under Pervez Musharraf's watch, which calls into question his image as an irreplaceable sentry standing guard against roving outlaws in a wild and dangerous part of the world.

"It's time to call his bluff," says Frederic Grare. "We could probably do without Pervez Musharraf. It will not stop the co-operation with the Pakistani army. There have been chiefs of army staff before Pervez Musharraf, and there will be chiefs of army staff after Pervez Musharraf. It's one thing to say we need the co-operation of the Pakistani army in the war on terror. It's another to say that Pervez Musharraf is indispensable."

Grare believes that the United States should insist that Musharraf restore the judiciary, including the fired Supreme Court chief justice—a move that would likely result in a ruling against the legality of Musharraf's October re-election. "I don't think we'll ever get a better opportunity than the one we have now. There is a Pakistani constitutional process. All the U.S. has to do is make sure that nobody spoils the process," he says.

Perhaps ironically, some analysts, and many Pakistanis, believe that the West's firm support for Musharraf frustrates progress that Pakistan might make against Islamist extremism in the country. "The Achilles heel of Musharraf's efforts against terrorism, that has been a problem since the beginning, is that most Pakistanis don't see it as a war for Pakistan's interests, they see it as a war for a dictator's interests, and for America's interests," says Riedel. "If you portray the war on terrorism in Pakistan as a war on behalf of Musharraf and Bush, you've chosen the two most unpopular people in your country as sponsors."

Irfan Husain, a columnist at the *Dawn* newspaper in Pakistan, told *Maclean's* that many Pakistanis resent the United States because of its support for a military dictator, and they resent Musharraf because they see him as an American pawn. "Everybody calls Musharraf Bush's poodle and says he is fighting Bush's war," Husain says. He describes Pakistan's fight against Islamist extremism as "our war too," but doesn't think Musharraf is the one to lead it. Husain says that Musharraf's anti-democratic crackdown has alienated secular liberals who might have otherwise supported firm measures against Islamist extremists. Indeed, Musharraf has trampled on civil society, arresting lawyers, journalists, and human rights activists—people who, Grare points out, "have a lot of shared values with the West. So I don't see why we should accept that they be victimized when they are in effect our best allies in Pakistan."

Bruce Riedel believes that the West's support for a military dictator will eventually polarize Pakistani society. "Sooner or later that will rebound to the benefit of Islamic extremists," he says. "If you weaken the political centre, if you destroy the judiciary, if you destroy the free press, you're going to create a situation in which the Islamic alternative becomes the only alternative."

Owais Aslam Ali, the secretary general of the Pakistan Press Foundation, told *Maclean's* that Musharraf's clampdown on the media has resulted in a news blackout, especially for illiterate Pakistanis who rely on television for information. "Press freedom was achieved in Pakistan after a long, hard struggle. And now a stroke of the pen has taken us back 40 years," he said. "It's a terrible blow." And Husna Ali, a freelance journalist in Karachi who has been protesting Musharraf's emergency measures since they were imposed, told *Maclean's* that Musharraf's allies should reconsider their support for the general. "I would like to tell the West, especially the masses who pay taxes, that terrorism is flourishing under the dictatorship that you are supporting," she said, urging the West to stand beside Pakistani democrats.

According to Larry Goodson, a professor of Middle East studies at the U.S. Army War College, this is the policy the United States and Canada should ultimately pursue. "There is going to come a reckoning at some point regarding the West's relationship with Pakistan," he says. "I have always thought there would come a time when we say we're going to take the longer view and push for real democracy, real economic development, real development of civil society. But that requires both a longer-term view and a willingness to tolerate some short-term strategic difficulties, which I don't think anyone in Washington or Ottawa is terribly comfortable with." ■

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GO DIRECTLY TO JAIL

Impunity may finally become a thing of the past in Latin America

BY ISABEL VINCENT • When police in the Chilean capital of Santiago rounded up the family and closest associates of former dictator Augusto Pinochet last month on corruption charges and briefly stuck them in jail, Latin Americans could hardly believe it. Although most of the charges were later dropped, the arrests seemed to signal a sea change in the region. For years, Latin America has allowed leaders and their friends to get away with robbery and murder. Was impunity finally dead in Chile, where the military government participated in the deaths of thousands in the 1970s and 1980s, and is accused of stealing millions of dollars?

While human rights groups caution that many countries still have a long way to go to end high-level impunity, the tide does seem to be turning. Two weeks before the Chilean arrests, Peru's Supreme Court ordered the extradition of former president Alberto Fujimori, who has spent seven years in self-imposed exile. Fujimori, now in a Peruvian jail, will face trial on charges of corruption and human rights abuses.

Similarly in Brazil, the Supreme Court ruled in August that a former chief of staff to President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva would stand trial for his alleged involvement in one of the biggest corruption scandals in recent history. José Dirceu is accused of being involved in an illegal fundraising scheme. Prosecutors say that public and private funds were diverted into the "*mensalao*" or "big monthly payoff" scandal during Lula's first term in order to obtain political favours.

Argentina was recently gripped by the three-month trial of Christian Frederico Von Wernich, 69, a Catholic priest. He was convicted for his involvement in seven murders, 42 abductions and 31 cases of torture during the so-called Dirty War against leftists between 1976 and 1983, which saw the disappearance and deaths of an estimated 30,000 people. Von Wernich worked as the chaplain to the Buenos Aires provincial police, telling police torturers that they were doing God's work, and passing on information from detainees after gaining their trust. He is only the third person to be convicted of human rights abuses in the country; after military rule ended in Argentina in 1983, the civilian governments proclaimed a general amnesty, which was finally ruled unconstitutional in 2003, opening the way for prosecution on human rights violations. "The importance of [the Von Wernich] case is fundamental because it's judging the participation of civilians in the military dictatorship, and not just any civilian but a member of the Catholic Church," said one of the prosecutors.

But perhaps the most telling episode in the battle to end impunity came as police in Chile arrested Pinochet's 84-year-old widow, his five adult children, and his secretary and accountant along with several others, for their alleged role in misusing public funds. Prosecutors claim they participated in a scheme to help the ex-dictator stash away some $26 million in foreign banks. Prosecutor Teresa Muñoz said Pinochet's widow, Lucia Hiriart, and one of his sons, had access to accounts that the general used to conceal money. Before his death of a heart attack last December, Pinochet had been facing charges of tax evasion, forgery of official documents, and numerous human rights abuses committed during his 17 years in power.

The Pinochet family has repeatedly denied the accusations, saying that Pinochet's funds were legally accumulated from savings, investments and donations he received. At the end of October, a Chilean appeals court seemed to agree, and dropped charges against Pinochet's widow, four of his children, and 10 of the general's closest associates. However, indictments against Pinochet's eldest son Augusto, 62, and two of his former associates were upheld.

The family has long maintained that the indictments were politically motivated. But in August 2004, an investigation by the U.S. Senate found 125 secret bank accounts belonging to Pinochet and his family in the Riggs Bank, headquartered in Washington, and in banks in Europe and the Caribbean. The Riggs Bank was sold in 2005, the Pinochet funds were transferred to other foreign banks and then reinvested in real estate. Now, regardless of the charges being dropped, the fact that Pinochet family members spent two days in jail underscores Chilean President Michelle Bachelet's declaration when the arrests were announced: "Nobody is above the law." Bachelet could just as well have been referring to the entire region—and Latin American prosecutors and human rights activists are hoping she's right. M



'NOBODY IS ABOVE THE LAW,' DECLARED CHILEAN PRESIDENT BACHELET



PRISON TIME Von Wernich, a priest, was found guilty of Dirty War crimes, Pinochet's children's mug shots

AFP/GETTY IMAGES, AP

THE ISSUE IN...

BRITAIN: WORLD'S FINEST TAXIS AREN'T FOR HIRE

Ever since the city of London imposed a "congestion tax" on roads in the city core, taxis have been free to roam in and out of the city centre without paying tax, which is as high as $50 a day for luxury vehicles. But the taxi-registry office has noticed a spike in the number of Aston Martins, Maybachs and other luxury cars registering as taxis in a bid to skirt the tax. Some luxury-vehicle users, such as the U.S. ambassador, simply refuse to pay the tax.

Barclays, the official bank of despots?

BY PATRICIA TREBLE • Doing business in a dictatorship can shine an uncomfortable spotlight on businesses. Just ask Barclays. The British bank, which made a $70-million profit from its Zimbabwean operations last year, is under scrutiny after the *Sunday Times* revealed that it made loans to at least five of President Robert Mugabe's cabinet ministers—members of the ruling elite responsible for the nation's humanitarian catastrophe. The five are also on a European Union sanction blacklist that states that "no funds shall be made available, directly or indirectly, to [blacklisted] people."

In the first six months of the year, Barclays loaned $1.5 billion to the country's newly created black farming elite, including the five cabinet ministers, under a Zimbabwean program aimed at kick-starting the nation's moribund food sector. The agricultural nation's food production, and indeed its entire economy, has been in a freefall since Mugabe began seizing his country's 4,000 white-owned farms in 2000, handing out choice prizes to his cronies. The concern over the Barclays loans is that, at a time when most arable land lies fallow and one-quarter of Zimbabweans are dependent on international food aid, the funds will vanish into private pockets. While Barclays won't confirm the loans to the five politicians, they say their Zimbabwean operations don't violate sanctions.



BARCLAYS says its Zimbabwe operations don't violate sanctions

Last week, Europe temporarily lifted its visa restrictions to allow the man who organized the farm seizures, Lands and Security Minister Didymus Mutasa, to testify at a tribunal of the International Center for Settlement of the Investment Disputes. The case involves 10 Dutch citizens who want $50 million in compensation for their old lands. Mutasa, who according to the *Times* got Barclays money, confirmed what everyone knew: the regime had wrongfully seized the white farms. M

REUTERS, CP

Denmark's unlikely coalition

BY NANCY MACDONALD • Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen has secured a third term for his governing bloc with a razor-slim majority of 90 seats—exactly the number required for majority governance. Rasmussen's victory does not come as a surprise: pre-election polls predicted victory for the prime minister. And why not? The Danish economy is booming thanks to North Sea oil money, and unemployment has hit a 30-year low. Indeed, the big question during the campaign wasn't the economy, but the potential impact of a new centrist party, the New Alliance—led by Naser Khader, a Syrian-born secular Muslim—at a time when the issue of immigration continues to divide Denmark.

Since 2001, Rasmussen's Liberal Party has governed with the support of the virulently anti-immigrant Danish People's Party, Denmark's third-largest political party and the driving force behind the country's tightened immigration laws—now Europe's toughest. (Under pressure from the DPP, Rasmussen slashed the number of migrants granted asylum by 80 per cent.) During the campaign, the DPP, known for its anti-Islamic rhetoric, criticized Muslim immigrants for not respecting Danish traditions, and taking advantage of the country's welfare system. However, some Danish pundits predicted that the New Alliance, formed just six months ago, would win enough influence to temper the government's hardline stance on migrants.

"The veto power must be taken away from the People's Party," Khader said during the campaign, promising his party's support to Rasmussen in return for, among other things, a more humane refugee policy. But Khader, who has "democracy" tattooed in Arabic on his arm, won't become Rasmussen's kingmaker: his early support did not translate into enough votes to win that role. With just five seats, it's likely that he'll be left outside the prime minister's coalition. For Rasmussen, taking on Khader would mean a broader bloc—but given the DPP's politics, a much shakier one. M



RASMUSSEN: A government that's tough on immigration

Nigeria's assault on Big Tobacco



ALLEGATIONS of a conspiracy to target Nigerian young people

BY SUZANNE TAYLOR • The big tobacco companies are running out of stomping grounds. Facing tough restrictions in Europe and North America, they've tapped into the African market. But it seems they may not be welcome there, either. The Nigerian federal government has launched a $40-billion lawsuit against three of the industry's heavyweights, including British American Tobacco, Philip Morris International and Nigerian-based International Tobacco Company. Four of the nation's 36 states filed similar suits last summer, but this is the first lawsuit brought against a tobacco company by an African country, according to lawyer Babatunde Irukera, who is also representing the government in a $6.5-billion lawsuit against pharmaceutical giant Pfizer. "The federal government accuses the tobacco companies of being engaged in a conspiracy to target young people and conceal the harmful nature of smoking for several years," says Irukera.

The majority of the damages being sought in the suit, which was filed in July but was only made public last week, are "anticipatory damages" for future health care costs expected to result from tobacco-related illnesses. The government is also trying to forbid tobacco products from being sold near schools, cinemas and hospitals, and "any alluring and misleading image regarding tobacco-related products" from being advertised to minors.

About 18 per cent of Nigerian youth smoked as of 2001, compared to nine per cent of the country's adults. But smoking may be the least of the impoverished country's problems. Thanks to decades of neglect, critics say the public health care system barely functions. And despite a recent statement by Nigeria's new minister of health that women and children would be a top priority, Africa's most populous country has a long way to go. Its child mortality rate currently ranks 14th in the world due to a lack of proper nutrition and basic health care—not from smoking. M

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TANNAS WANTS to build his brand before branching out 'Wal-Mart did a fabulous job of staying out of the big cities until they were ready'

Little bank on the Prairie

Scott Tannas's vision of a bank by and for the West pays off



A MACLEAN'S SPECIAL SERIES BY PETER C. NEWMAN

This is the third in a monthly series on the New Masters of the Universe, Canadian entrepreneurs who are revolutionizing our once sleepy business ethic.

Banking in these northern latitudes is more than just a business. It's a calling. The CEOs of the Big Five banks—the men who set the tone and policies for Canada's banking system—regard themselves primarily as protectors and chief custodians of the free-enterprise ethic. They take inordinate pride in operating the levers of the machinery that keeps business expanding, consumers spending, and the economy functioning. In maintaining and expanding that process, they wield their impressive clout with the piety of elders at a Presbyterian synod meeting: never pushy, seldom impatient, always careful and above all, serene in the security and sanctity of their faith.

They practise their canny profession within three hard core blocks of each other in downtown Toronto, where their fancy head office towers stab the sky and the vast bulk of Canadian banking is conducted. Trillions of dollars changes hands here annually. And the bankers harvest their share of the proceeds, remaining in the upper quartile of the profit curve among their international competitors.

There have, of course, been several attempts at breaching this feudal castle of players tending their geographic, fiscal monopoly. Once every decade or so, some rash westerner rattles their cages, figures he ought to shake up the Bay Street Boys a little, and starts growing a bank. Edgar Kaiser in Vancouver, the Northland in Calgary, the Canadian Commercial Bank in Edmonton, plus an outfit calling itself the Weyburn Security Bank in Saskatchewan. All went bust or were bought out.

Into this vacuum has stepped Scott Tannas, a former travel agent from High River, Alta., a ranching town a half hour south of Calgary, previously known mainly as the place where one-time Tory prime minister Joe Clark simmered up. Tannas, 45, projects a deceptively pedestrian manner, looking more like a hardware merchant than a banker, though he never wears a cowboy hat or a bolo tie. But he vows to be the "strongest financial institution in the West by 2020," and it's a believable boast.

One reason for that is how far he has come from a standing start in 1993, when he bought into Hi-Alta Insurance, a tiny local company. Three years later he still had only nine employees. But just this month, the total reached 1,000. His Western Financial Group has signed up half a million clients and commands half a billion dollars in assets. The key to success, he says, is in staying attuned to the West's unique business cycle, and not treating the region as "fly-over country," as so many of the big boys do. But his role model is the Quebec-based National Bank, which, along with Desjardins Group, trump the market share of the Big Five banks in Quebec.

His enterprise remains a pygmy among Canadian financial institutions, but he's attracted some world-class partners. Some 36 per cent of Western Financial Group is owned by four international giants: ING, the Dutch finance powerhouse; AXA, a mammoth Parisian insurance company; Aviva, the London-based fund manager; and Royal & SunAlliance, also based in London. His investors include a handful of domestic insurance firms, like Wawanesa in Winnipeg and Peace Hills in Edmonton. And his board includes Montreal movers and shakers Phillip Webster and Gabor Jellinek, a former vice-president of Seagram's, as well as the likes of chairman Jim Dinning, once the favourite to replace Ralph Klein.

The growing conglomerate now boasts 95 locations from Winnipeg to B.C. but mostly in Alberta, including banking facilities (Bank West), dozens of insurance offices, and a Calgary investment bank, Jennings Capital, of which Western Financial Group owns about 30 per cent. The group finished 2006 with revenues of $83 million, up a quarter from the previous year, while profits grew 65 per cent. And though Bank West gained chartered bank status in 2002, it has an edge not shared by the Big Five—because it is regulated under the Insurance Act rather than the Banking Act, it can and does sell every kind of insurance in all its branches.

Tannas's real advantage, though, is his entrepreneurial streak. A typical example: "We thought we should get into car and RV, boat and trailer and motorhome financing, so we did a little market research, and it was hilarious. We went to three or four of our customers who are RV dealers and car dealers and asked if they would refer customers from the showroom floor to us. And what would it take. One RV dealer said, 'If you'd be open when people actually bought RVs, that would be great. Nobody buys a motorhome at two o'clock in the afternoon on a Tuesday, they buy it Friday night and Saturday, and as soon as they've committed to buy it they want to leave with it. They don't want to wait 'til Monday or Tuesday for a loan approval.' So we opened an office for loan applications that stays open until eight o'clock during the week, and weekends with a one-hour guaranteed turnaround time. That was how we got into that business, which has been the backbone of the bank in the early years."

Tannas's aim is to provide one-stop shopping, and it's no accident that many of his Main Street offices are in villages that can only support one financial outlet. "There's nobody in this country better at selling car and house insurance than we are, because if you walk into one of our offices and ask for a quote we'll quote you 20 different companies and give you the best price out of that 20," he claims. "In that core business we choose to be distributors. We think that's the competitive advantage that we can maintain. In life insurance and in banking we're going to make it ourselves because we need to control the product." He believes that the next big thing will be annuities, since the bloom is off mutual funds and the boomers are saving for their old age. An annuity is to pay $100,000 for a guarantee of $5,000 a year for life, thus creating your own pension plan.

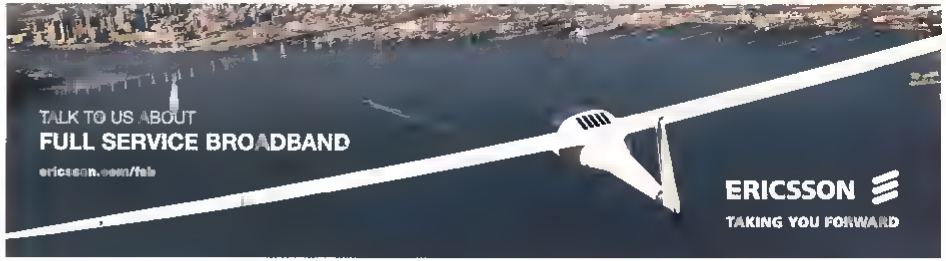
"Nobody owes us a living, that's one of our big sayings, so what we've got to do has to be valuable, and we can't hide behind government protection forever," Tannas believes. His other catechism is that what unites the West is the thought that everything is decided in Toronto. "That's what our cause is: we say we want to be the strongest financial institution in the West by 2020. Effectively, we want to be in the West what the National Bank and Desjardins are in Quebec. Both of those institutions have bigger market share than the major Canadian banks do. We think that opportunity is lying there for us and customers will cheer for us all the way along. Now,

His role model is National Bank, which, along with Desjardins, trump the market share of the Big Five in Quebec



WORLD-CLASS PARTNERS Tannas has attracted ING, Paris-based AXA and London's Aviva

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUSTEN LACOURSIÈRE





TANNAS with his wife, Taryn. He likes to project a just-off-the-turnip-truck image, but his language is too bankerish for that

being the strongest doesn't necessarily mean having the most assets. To me it means being profitable in terms of a return, how many customers you have is your breadth. What counts is performance and how many customers you actually touch in the marketplace."

Tannas likes to project a just-off-the turnip truck image, but it doesn't fly because his language is just too bankerish. "We're building toward this goal of 2020, of being able to measure ourselves by our own yardsticks: return on equity; number of customers we've got in the marketplace, and how many products per customer we're selling," he says. "By 2020 we'll be well north of two million customers. Our return on equity needs to be in the high teens—it's only at 10 per cent today—so we've got building to do in that area. And we've got to have probably four more products per customer. We haven't launched a credit card yet. We haven't launched a home equity line of credit, but we will, and we'll do something innovative and interesting."

The most obvious gap in his lineup is asset management, which has become the main fee producer for the big Canadian banks. While everybody in the asset management business is chasing the 20 per cent of clients who are the wealthiest, Tannas is trying to figure out how to serve the guy who needs to save $200 a month toward retirement, or the couple who have $200,000 to put into an annuity to maximize that income for the rest of their lives. "Those are the people we need to figure out how to serve," he says. "To give those people maximum value, you've got to be big, and I think we can lean on our shareholder partners to help us with that."

Western Financial Group's slogan is, "Because we live here." It may not be sophisticated but it's authentic, printed on the back



of the firm's business cards and splashed all over the place. "It truly is our advantage, that we can out-local any of our competitors, and we can out-national the small guys who we compete against," Tannas enthuses. "We like the regional idea. There's huge opportunities. We're going to spend the next few years building out our customer base, our branch network and rural markets, building up our brand, getting all of our systems humming, keep building on our competitive advantage, and then we'll move into the cities. We still haven't even had an opening conversation with half the population in the West, so we've got a long way to go. We're comfortable in small towns, we know what we're doing. In the big cities, the metropolitan areas, we know that financial services are sold differently, there's a higher proportion of young people, technology's playing a bigger role. So we want to learn more before we jump in there. But, you know, Wal-Mart did a fabulous job of staying out of the big cities until they were ready."

If that isn't a warning to the industry's big boys, I don't know what is. But Tannas's long-term planning may exclude expansion in Canada. He is much more excited about the American Midwest, such as Montana. "We say, 'North Dakota before North Bay,' because those are our complementary markets—similar demographics, similar industries. That's where we'll go. We'll go to the Plains states, the Pacific Northwest. And frankly, if you draw a circle around that whole region, it's bigger than Canada, so it's not like we're compromising our opportunities by saying we want to be a western company. I really would love to see, as a westerner, as a redneck Albertan, I want to see us as a really strong, deep western financial institution, the West-Jet of Canadian banking."

The next logical step would seem to be a takeover of ATB Financial, formerly the Alberta Treasury Branches. Started by the provincial government in the 1930s, when the big eastern banks had all but abandoned the dust bowl prairie, it is now a thriving bank with more than 4,000 employees. Privatization has often been on the table, but the province has never pulled the trigger. Should that change, Western Financial would be a powerful force in any auction of its assets, and would instantly transform into a $15-billion financial giant. At the moment, the betting is that even if ATB was privatized, Ed Stelmach, the populist-minded Alberta premier, would most likely distribute its stock to the province's citizens as a dividend that might win badly needed Conservative votes.

Alberta is on the march, married to tomorrow's technology and today's supplies of essential continental resources. One of the few safe predictions about that future is that Scott Tannas and his entrepreneurial spirit will be an important part of it. M

EMPLOYEE OF THE WEEK

DANCING DENTIST SHOULD AVOID CAR WASH

Dr. George Trusty, a Syracuse, N.Y., dentist, was removing a tooth from Brandy Fenning's mouth when he heard the song *Car Wash* on the radio. He started dancing and lost control of a 2.5-cm-long drill bit. It punctured her sinus cavity and came to a halt next to her eye socket. Attempts to remove it failed and Trusty told her she'd probably sneeze it out. Fenning spent three days in hospital after physicians bored a hole in her gums to fetch the bit.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUSTEN LACOURSIÈRE



Pro hockey: great game, bad business

BY STEVE MAICH - The buzz surrounding this year's edition of the *Forbes* ranking of NHL team values painted a rosy picture of pro hockey fortunes. Revenues were up, as were operating profits, thanks to the creation of a salary cap two years ago. But a closer look suggests the NHL is still ailing.

All 30 teams combined posted an estimated operating profit of US$95.4 million—a lot better than the collective US$96-million loss posted just before the lockout. But even at that, the league's average franchise posted a profit of US$3.2 million on revenue of US$81 million. That works out to a razor-thin profit margin of about four per cent, and that's before factoring in taxes, interest on debt, and asset depreciation. Put another way, the average NHL team is making about as much money as a typical second-line winger in salary.

Even with the US$50.3-million salary cap, it's still only the fortunate ones that are making money at all. Out of the league's 30 teams, 15 were still in the red according to *Forbes*' estimates. And while the Toronto Maple Leafs and Montreal Canadiens look solid with their high ticket prices, plush arenas and loyal fans, the poor New York Islanders are getting by on league-low revenue of US$60 million.



THE Islanders survive on just US$60 million in yearly revenue

In fact, there are two NHLs. The healthy side of the league is largely populated by Canadian clubs and a handful of U.S. teams such as Detroit and the New York Rangers. Everybody else is in the have-not NHL. The total operating profit of the six Canadian franchises amounts to US$110.3 million, which means all of the U.S. clubs posted a total operating *loss* of US$14.9 million.

A business in which only about half of the franchises post any kind of profit isn't normally the kind that lights up investors. And yet, despite the grim financials, the average club is now priced at US$200 million, and several have posted huge gains in value since the lockout season. It's yet more evidence that just because pro hockey is a bad business, it's not necessarily a bad investment. M

Car buyers make a run for the border



CAR BROKERS are getting around a ban on cross-border car sales

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • As the U.S. dollar continues to stumble along, deals for Canadian shoppers are becoming more and more alluring, and nowhere is this more evident than in cross-border car sales.

Over the past month, many car manufacturers have gone to great lengths to try to stop Canadians from taking advantage of the huge discrepancies in car prices between the two countries. Companies like General Motors and Honda have told their U.S. dealers that they are not allowed to sell to Canadians or Canadian auto brokers. Others, like Chrysler, have said they won't honour warranties on U.S. cars that end up in Canada. The restrictions have already prompted one lawsuit by disgruntled shoppers.

But in the meantime, none of this has actually stopped brokers from importing U.S. cars into Canada and selling them to legions of ready buyers. One company, Toronto Auto Brokers, circumvents the prohibition by working through a U.S. partner, which buys the cars from American dealers, then passes them on to Canada. Toronto Auto Brokers actually specializes in car exports, but demand is so high for U.S. cars nowadays that it has moved into importing, too, says sales manager Avi Zur. "There's a lot of people doing this," says Zur, who adds that he now gets about 35 calls a week on the subject.

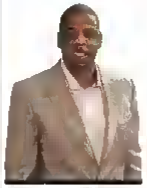
While there are plenty of good bargains, the best deals are in new luxury cars, like the Lexus RX350, says Zur. In Canada, the SUV sells for $52,000, compared to $37,000 in the United States—a difference of $15,000. On top of this, because the RX350 is actually manufactured in Canada, under NAFTA rules there's no duty. Consumers only pay about $1,000 to the broker to navigate all the bureaucratic, cross-border paperwork.

With deals like that, the only thing that will deter Canadians from buying U.S. cars is fairer pricing from the automakers. M

Y'all can keep your dead presidents, yo

BY JORDAN TIMM • Shawn Corey Carter is the American dream. Born into poverty in Brooklyn's notorious Marcy Houses project, where he dealt drugs as a teenager, Carter became a hip hop star under the name Jay-Z. He then parlayed his skill on the microphone and the lessons he learned as a street-level entrepreneur into a business empire—including a record label, a clothing line and part ownership of an NBA team—and a personal fortune in excess of half a billion dollars.

Jay-Z's talent and success make him the most influential person in hip hop. The clothes he wears and the cigars he smokes start trends, and the products flashed in his videos become instant commercial touchstones in urban pop culture. When he disses something, that gets noticed, too—as the Louis Roederer winery discovered last year, when Jay boycotted their status-symbol champagne, Cristal. His every move is dissected by the street; but now, Jay-Z is also being watched by The Street.

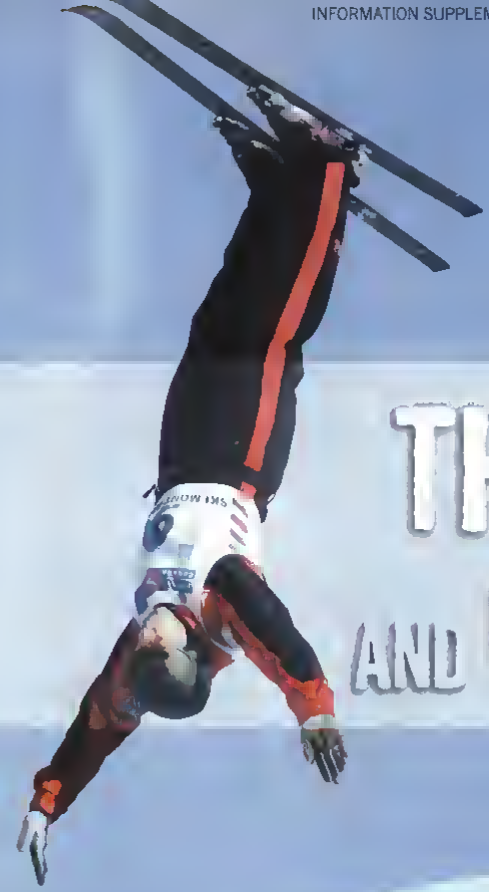


JAY-Z has been keeping an eye on currency markets

In the video for the single *Blue Magic*, Jay rides around New York City in his Rolls-Royce, dropping rhymes about Gucci sneakers and diamond chains while he flashes stacks of cash. But those bank notes aren't the greenbacks that are customary in hip-hop videos—they're euros.

A columnist for a Minnesota newspaper noticed, and surmised that the switch reflected the U.S. dollar's sagging market standing. "I don't need the chairman of the Federal Reserve to tell me about the state of our economy," wrote Mark Olson of the *Chaska Herald*. "I just need Jay-Z, the new Alan Greenspan." Reaction followed from the likes of the *Wall Street Journal* and *Mad Money* host Jim Cramer, who suggested that, along with reports that supermodel Gisele Bundchen no longer wanted to be paid in U.S. dollars, the video had caused a "panic" about the currency. Neither Jay-Z nor the video's director, Hype Williams, could be reached for comment—but though Jay once boasted in song that dead presidents represent him, it seems something more stable is now the discerning hip hop mogul's currency of choice. M

INFORMATION SUPPLEMENT



THRILLS AND CHILLS

Freestyle skiing

– aerials, moguls, the half pipe and ski cross – feature daring acrobatic thrills and adrenaline-rush chills – and that's just how the spectators feel

FREESTYLE SKI ACROBATIQUE

GETTY IMAGES AP GETTY IMAGES



The Canadian Freestyle Team plans to "own the podium" at the 2010 Vancouver Olympics in the Aerial and Mogul competitions.

With tearless, talented athletes, backed by major supporters, coaches and trainers, the countdown to 2010 has not only begun, the optimism is ticking loud

Peter Judge, CEO for the Canadian Freestyle Ski Association (CFSA) says, "The Olympic Games are the ultimate and original reality TV show. If anything can happen, it will happen. Our association goals are focused on 2010. That's immediate and pressing. It's a goalpost that garners most of our attention right now. However, it's pretty imperative that we not only achieve podium success, but in a larger perspective, that the collective Canadian winter sports group can be tops in medal winnings. The goal, backed by the Own the Podium (OTP) program is to be the number one nation in the medal standings for the 2010 Games."



OTP is a unique effort with funding brokered by VANOC (Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games). This initiative sees unprecedented collaboration between the Government of Canada who have contributed $55 million and Canadian companies such as Bell, Royal Bank of Canada (RBC), Rona, HBC, McDonalds, GM, the Province of British Columbia who are also contributing an additional $55 million and of course the COC and CPC. OTP will disburse about $21 million a year to the respective winter sports in each of the five years leading up to 2010. The winter National Sport Organizations (NSO's) like the CFSA are responsible for administrating the program, managing the athletes, coaches and trainers, and ultimately reporting back to OTP and being accountable for the results.

However, Judge says that besides medals, they also need to maintain sustainability for the sport post-2010. "This is also a big issue for us. We've seen a significant and helpful injection of money into our sports system from the Canada Post, RBC, Bell and many other partners who are contributing to the program. But there will inevitably be a contraction after the games with the finish of OTP, so we want to ensure we can have continued success in the sport, not only at the international level, but at the grass roots level too," he says.

Judge has lived and breathed the sport for more than 30 years as an elite athlete, coach and CEO of the CFSA. "We went through an era with freestyle skiing in the mid-1970s when it was the skiing flavour de jour – the cult sport of the day. You couldn't pick up a ski magazine or even sports magazines such as Sports Illustrated and not see something about it. Even Coco-Cola TV ads featured freestyler Wayne Wong. It was a mainstream cult at the time, much like snowboarding has been for the last decade. But as all cult things go, they ride a wave and the wave changes. Snowboard was our successor and although it would seem that we've risen to popularity, largely based on our admission into the Olympics, I think it's more of a resurgence than a steady acceleration of growth and attention," says Judge.

Judge is proud of the fact that during the formative years of freestyle, supporters were smart enough to prepare the infrastructure to get the grass-roots enthusiasts initiated into the sport. "When you get past the cult stage, you create classic sport just like Alpine and Nordic jumping, which has been around for decades, or you go into extinction," he says.

All the athletes and administrators would attest to the level of difference that the sponsors who are contributing to OTP have made.

"We are really lucky to have great support, not only in terms of finances, but in terms of moral support. When you have companies such as Canada Post, Bell and RBC behind you, those are large companies that have critical mass in terms of their stature. You can't walk around and not see a Canada Post delivery van without freestyle skiing signage. It's also become ingrained in their culture and it's a two-way street. We take great pride in being affiliated with companies of that class and they take great pride in us," he says.

FREESTYLE HEROES

Just a few of the faces on the Canadian Freestyle Skiing team

ALEXANORE BILODEAU



Age 20
Date of birth September 8, 1987
Place of birth Montreal QC
Residence Rosemère QC

- Third year as a World Cup team member
- Ranked third for the 2006-2007 World Cup season and ranked 2nd for the 2005-2006 World Cup season
- 2005/2006 FIS Freestyle "Rookie of the Year" for moguls
- Member of the 2006 Canadian Olympic team and placed 11th
- Won silver at the World Cup in La Plagne, France February 2007
- Won two gold medals in 2005-2006 At Gabriel, in January 2006 (becoming the youngest man in FIS history to win gold at a World Cup event), and in the Czech Republic in February 2006

Bilodeau loves the adrenaline rush that skiing provides and has a naturally competitive spirit "I started competing when I was about eight and doing aerials around nine I trained on the trampoline every week and my trampoline club wanted me to compete for them but I was only doing the trampoline for my skiing," he says

He joined the national ski team when he was 16 "I decided to focus on moguls because I was really a skier first. The people who do aerials are usually trampoline gymnasts who we put into skiing We drop them down the hill and they jump It's less of a feeling of skiing to me But controlling your skiing when you go down moguls means you have to be a really, really good skier. However I do have a passion for catching air he says

JENN HEIL



Age 24
Date of birth April 11 1983
Place of birth Edmonton AB
Resides in Montreal, QC

- Eighth year as World Cup team member
- Olympic gold medallist at the 2006 Torino Games the first gold medal by a Canadian woman in mogul skiing
- Won the gold medal in La Plagne France February 2007
- 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007 World Cup Overall Women's Mogul Title Holder first Canadian woman to do so
- 2005 and 2007 FIS World Champion in dual moguls
- Athletic Patron for an Edmonton-based organization, Kids Kottage Foundation that helps ensure children are safe and receive the support and care they need when their families are in crisis
- Honourary Ambassador for KidSport ™, an organization that assists children who need financial support to participate in organized sport

Jenn Heil knew she wanted to be an athlete when she was in Grade 2 However she wasn't sure which sport to choose "I was always involved in sports I have a ton of energy so I was in dance, gymnastics, swimming and cross-country running " says Heil

One day her father saw a poster advertising a mogul ski team try-out in Edmonton and took his daughters "I was reluctant because I didn't want to miss a gymnastics practice but it was a turning point We both got on the Alberta team and practised in Banff My parents drove us every single weekend in the winter for four years from Edmonton to Kananaskis to be with the team It's pretty amazing how many hours we logged on that highway " she says

STEVE OMISCHL



Age 29
Date of birth November 16 1978
Place of birth North Bay ON
Residence Kelowna BC

- Ninth year as a World Cup team member
- 2005 FIS World Champion
- Bronze medallist at the 2003 and 2007 FIS World Freestyle Ski Championships
- Member of the 2002 and 2006 Canadian Olympic Aerials team
- 2004 and 2007 FIS World Cup Aerial Tour Champion
- Won six World Cup events in 2004-05, and achieved a total of nine podium results in 12 starts

When Steve Omischl moved to Whistler at 18 he met Nick Bass coach of the World Cup team "Whistler is not a cheap place to live and he took me under his wing I was on the Ontario team and he coached me when he could It gave me a lot of confidence I got on the national development team and then at 19 onto the World Cup team," he says

Omischl thinks sport is the greatest thing that kids can get involved in "It teaches you about goal-setting, work ethic, working with other people, plus the opportunities to travel and see the world are phenomenal" he says "I'm putting 95 per cent of me into the sport and 5 per cent into other interests for now When I retire from the sport then I'll go back to school," he says

AMBER PETERSON



Age 25
Date of birth April 24, 1982
Place of birth and residence Thunder Bay Ont

- Fifth year as a World Cup team member
- Ranked 21st for the 2006-2007 World Cup season and ranked 10th for the 2005-2006 World Cup season
- Won a World Cup silver medal in 2006 at Lake Placid ensuring her place on the Olympic team
- Member of the 2006 Canadian Olympic Aerials team
- Won gold medal at the 2006 and 2007 Senior National Championships

Amber Peterson participated in gymnastics when she was young and especially loved the trampoline But she also liked to ski and followed her big brother around the ski hills every winter. "I wanted to do everything he was doing I'm thankful that he let me follow him around " she says

Peterson's accomplishments are many but she says she hasn't peaked yet "I'm planning to do that in four years at 2010," she says Peterson was 10th in 2005-06 World Cup season and after winning a silver medal at Lake Placid, qualified for the Olympics

She enjoys the team environment and appreciates the respect that everyone has for each other "We are very supportive of each other We've got a solid team and great group dynamics," she says

CANADA POST ENHANCES CFSA SPONSORSHIP

Canada Post and the CFSA have had a sponsorship arrangement for the past six years, but a new agreement was forged last year that is much broader and deeper The new ideas came out of a sponsorship analysis done with Fusion Alliance Marketing, a division of Cossette Communications Group It helped determine the value of the partnership and how it could be enhanced Catherine Riggins, Canada Post's director of marketing communications sponsorship and brand in Ottawa, says "By sponsoring the CFSA and athletes, there were many things that we could do to help them, and that they could do for us to help rejuvenate our brand Canadians generally think [Canada Post] is trustworthy, but not very innovative, so this was something we wanted to develop "

For example, Canada Post believed the many traits that the athletes stand for – boldness, determination, competitiveness, sheer energy and more – would resonate with their customers, employees and especially with younger generations "So we created a look and feel for our involvement and developed a distinct logo We launched a full campaign with print advertising , online advertising on sports related web sites, signage on Canada Post vehicles and Television ads on sports programs As part of our sponsorship we obtained full title naming rights to all events- the regionals, nationals, Nor-Ams through to the World Cups" A key for us, says Riggins, is that the World Cup team is now called the The Canada Post Freestyle Ski Team

"This is really edgy for Canada Post and we can push our creative strategies much farther with this than on some of our other campaigns It's been a real rejuvenator at all levels from employees to customers We have unlimited access to the athletes so we've had them speak at our conferences with their stories of determination for example," says Riggins "But we want all Canadians to learn more about this incredible sport. Once you see an event, you will be hooked "

CANADA POST FREESTYLE SKI ACROBATIQUE POSTES CANADA

ATHLETE PERFORMANCE RESULTS. DELIVERED

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As for the athletes, their passion is infectious. "When you have a group of highly approachable, friendly, well-spoken representatives of the sport, you can't help but feel their enthusiasm. You can see that it's not just about their goals and aspirations. They are out there to create excellence and a legacy not only for themselves, but for their country and the sport," he says.

Freestyle skiing is different from many other sports in that the athletes also seem to be having a lot of fun even while they are competing. Says Judge, "They work hard, but it's a fun-hard. It's a 'work is play' mindset. This sport is not a cutthroat, dog-eat-dog kind of competition. They don't elbow someone out of the way. It's fun to watch."

The CFSA is excited about new freestyle disciplines on the horizon such as ski cross that will be featured in the 2010 Olympics. They are also lobbying for the half pipe entry. "The half pipe is widely practiced at the grass-roots level and Canadians are good at it. It's one of those great Gen-X sports that we want to bring forward," says Judge. "Our sport has always been about innovation and trying to create new paradigms and parameters."

THE DISCIPLINES

SINGLE MOGULS:

Mogul skiing is probably the most accessible of the freestyle ski disciplines and is one of the most exciting and spectacular winter sports to watch. Top skiers bounce off as many as four moguls per second.

The Course: The average length is about 200 and 270 metres. Moguls are approximately 3.5 metres apart. The course includes two air bumps that are used as take-off points for aerial manoeuvres.

Judging: Competitors ski down the mogul course and launch themselves off two jumps in front of seven judges. Marks are awarded for the technical quality of the skier's turns, the aerial manoeuvres and speed. While speed is a factor, the fastest skier across the finish line does not necessarily win.

DUAL MOGULS:

Competitors race side-by-side down moguls, trying not to collide. Results from dual moguls are combined with single moguls results to determine the overall World Cup Mogul Champion at the end of each year.

Judging: As with single moguls, seven judges award marks for turns, speed and air, deciding who will go forward to the next round. The fastest skier over the finish line is not necessarily the winner.

AERIALS:

Competitors hit the jumps or 'kickers' at about 60 km/h, launch themselves about 20 metres in the air and perform triple back somersaults with up to five twists. These are the most difficult manoeuvres performed in any gymnastic-style sport.

Judging: Competitors must perform two different jumps consisting of single or multiple somersaults with or without twists. Each jump must vary by one somersault or one twist. Points are awarded for take-off, style and form while in the air and their landing. Scores of both jumps are added together for a final mark.

HALF PIPE:

The half pipe, as a terrain feature, originated from surfing and then skateboarding when surfers in California decided to skate in huge storm drains when the waves weren't good enough. Skateboarding moved over to the ski hills when the snowboard was perfected. As the sports have evolved, so have the tricks. It is not uncommon to see two or three tricks involving two-and-a-half spins as well as a couple of variations of flips in one run.

Judging: Elements include how high they fly out of the pipe while doing tricks, degree of difficulty of the tricks, execution and the overall package. The degree of difficulty equates to the number of spins or flips done in the trick but the total package includes the grabs and positions (personality and style) that athletes add to the tricks to make them their own.

SKI CROSS:

Dubbed the NASCAR of the skiing world, the object of ski cross is to beat three other skiers down a course. The most action takes places over the first 60 metres where the skiers burst out of the drop-down gate and aim to be the first one in the first turn. In addition to avoiding each other, the athletes negotiate their way over jumps, turns and steep pitches to the finish line. The best two from each group move up the elimination ladder and the fastest skiers meet in the finals.

THEY'RE BACK
AND THEY'RE
MORE TWISTED
THAN EVER.
CANADA POST IS THRILLED TO SUPPORT CANADA'S
FREESTYLE SKIERS
AT EVERY
LEVEL.
FREESTYLE SKI ACROBATIQUE
CANADA POST
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SKI ACROBATIQUE
POSTES CANADA
TEAM SPONSOR. TEAMMATES. DELIVERED.



Canadian Freestyle Ski Team Members

AERIALS

Women's World Cup Team
Veronika Bauer
Deidra Dionne
Amber Peterson

Women's Development Team
Sabrina Guérin
Crystal Lee
Nicole Mulder
Geneviève Touges

Men's World Cup Team
Ryan Blais
Kyle Nissen
Steve Omischl
Warren Shouldice
Cord Spero

Men's Development Team
Jean-Christophe André
Rémy Belanger
Sean Butler
Travis Gerrits
Alem Morin
Olivier Rochon
Jonathan Vellner

MOGULS

Women's World Cup Team
Nathalie Bazin
Jackie Brown
Jennifer Heil
Sylvia Kerfoot
Kristi Richards
Stephanie St-Pierre

Women's Development Team
Frédérique Bonenfant-Lingat
Chloe Dufour-Lapointe
Maxime Dufour-Lapointe
Delphi Dugal-Tessier
Chelsea Hendruk
Henriane Lalour
Marie-Josée Lessard
Audrey Robichaud

Men's World Cup Team
Alex Bridoeau
Maxime Gingras
Vincent Marquis
Pierre-Alexandre Rousseau
Warren Tanner

Men's Development Team.
Matthew Crosby
Renaud Dagenais
Etienne Dugal-Tessier
Léonard Lalour
Edward Lortie
Philip Marquis
Vincent Sigoum
Garrett Simn
Chris Wong

2007/2008 Events Calendar

MO = Moguls, DM = Dual Moguls, AE = Aerials, SX = Skier Cross, HP = Half pipe, TT = Table Top

DECEMBER		
13	FIS World Cup, Tignes, France	MO
17-22	FIS Race, Park City, USA	AE, MO, DM, HP
20-22	FIS Race, Utah Olympic Park, USA	AE
21-22	FIS World Cup, Lianhua Mountain, China	AE
JANUARY		
4-6	NorAm, Canada Olympic Park, Canada	MO, AE, DM
4-6	Canadian Series Canada Olympic Park, Canada	HP
12-13	NorAm, Ski Mont Gabriel, Canada	AE
12-13	FIS World Cup, Les Contamines, France	SX, HP
13-14	FIS Race, Madarao, Japan	MO
14-15	NorAm, Val St-Côme, Canada	MO, DM
16	FIS World Cup, Flaine, France	SX
18-20	FIS World Cup, Lake Placid, USA	AE, MO, DM
19-20	Canadian Series, Stoneham, Canada	MO, DM
20	FIS World Cup, Kreischberg, Austria	SX
26-27	FIS World Cup, Ski Mont Gabriel, Canada	MO, AE
FEBRUARY		
1-2	FIS World Cup, Deer Valley, Park City, USA	DM, AE, SX
1-3	FIS Race, Listel Ski Fantasia, Japan	MO
9-10	FIS World Cup, Cypress Mountain, Canada	MO, AE
15-16	FIS Racelizuna, Japan	MO
15-17	FIS World Cup, Listel Inawashiro, Japan	MO, AE, HP
15-17	NorAm, Apex Mountain, Canada	MO, DM, AE
16-17	FIS Race, Iizuna, Japan	MO
21-23	NorAm Finals, Winter Park, USA	MO, DM, AE, HP
23	FIS World Cup, Sierra Nevada, Spain	SX
24	FIS Race, Sierra Nevada, Spain	SX
22-24	Canadian Series, Big White, Canada	HP
MARCH		
1	FIS World Cup, Moscow, Russia	AE
1-2	FIS World Cup, Spindleruv Mlyn, Czechoslovakia	MO, SX
1-2	Canadian Series, Castle Mountain, Canada	MO, DM
2	FIS Race, Sapporo Banks, Japan	MO
5	FIS World Cup, Grindelwald, Switzerland	SX
7	FIS World Cup, Davos, Switzerland	AE
7-8	FIS World Cup, Are, Sweden	MO, DM
8-9	Canadian Series, Beaver Valley, Canada	MO, DM
9	FIS World Cup, Meiringen Hasliberg, Switzerland	SX
14-16	Junior Nationals, Le Relais, Canada	MO, DM, AE, HP
14-16	FIS World Cup, Valmalenco, Italy	MO, HP, SX
15-16	Canadian Series, Beaver Valley, Canada	MO, DM
15-16	Canadian Series, TBD, ON, Canada	HP
21-22	FIS Race, Kashimayan, Japan	SX
22-23	National Championships Ski Mont Gabriel Stoneham, Canada	MO, DM, AEHP (TBC)
APRIL		
6	FIS Race, Inawashiro, Japan	MO

It all comes down to 6 questions

How can I afford the house, the car, and the college fund? Can I handle my debts? How much insurance is enough? What about retirement?

BY JASON KIRBY, JOHN INTINI AND COLIN CAMPBELL

Everybody's financial picture is unique. That's why there's a booming industry in dispensing money advice. But if you're going to try to run a household these days, there are a few basic questions everyone will run across. Here are the answers to those questions, straight from the experts themselves.

HOME

For just about everyone, your home will be the cornerstone of your financial future. So it's no great surprise that, with its barrage of reality television shows devoted to house hunting and home renovation, HGTV has made home ownership into something of a recreational sport. Of course, the cameras conveniently turn off when it comes time for the daunting decisions that seal the deal. Figuring out exactly how much house you can afford, and finding a mortgage that won't crush you, might be the most important financial decisions you'll ever make.

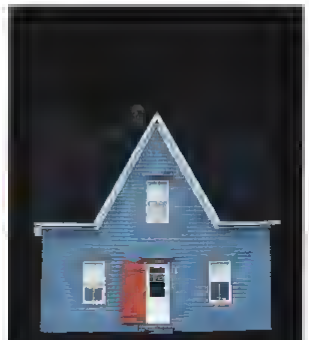
The first question obviously has everything to do with how much money financial institutions are willing to lend you. And that, in turn, depends on your income and how much debt you already owe.

In loose terms, the amount of mortgage you can afford will be equal to about four times your gross income, according to Brad Compton, a mortgage broker with Invis Mortgage in Toronto. "It's more of a rule of thumb because obviously everyone is different," he says. "But an average person with a middle income and $2,000 in outstanding credit card debt will hit the four times mark."

More specifically, mortgage lenders such as the big banks will tally up your potential home ownership costs, like principle and interest payments on your mortgage, property taxes, utilities and any condo fees. Most lenders want to see those costs add up to no more than 32 per cent of your gross monthly income. Next they will add on how much other debt you owe each month, such as credit cards and car payments. Taken all together, your total debt service ratio (TDR) must not be more than 40 per cent of your income. So, for instance, if your gross household monthly income is $5,000, then the amount you owe for your house and other debt must not exceed $2,000. If your TDR comes in high, then you have to either cough up a larger down payment, or consider buying a cheaper house.

But even if you do have enough money to borrow the maximum, that doesn't necessarily mean you should, say advisers. A lot depends, of course, on where you are in life. A couple with no kids and few debts will be fine taking out the maximum mortgage. The problem is, lenders don't always factor in costs associated with raising children. "That's a wrinkle that isn't looked at by the banks," says Mike Cherney, a certified financial planner in Toronto. "A couple with children might want to ease back on how much they borrow." That could mean aiming for a total debt ratio in the low 30 per cent range instead.

Having figured out how much you can borrow, the next big decision is whether to lock in interest rates with a fixed-rate mortgage or opt for one with rates that float. There is no magic answer. Financial advisers will tell you that over the long run variable mort-



JUST BECAUSE YOU CAN BORROW FOUR TIMES YOUR INCOME, DOESN'T MEAN YOU SHOULD

gage rates, which swing over time according to cuts and hikes made by the Bank of Canada, tend to be the cheaper way to go. Mark Neufeld, a financial adviser with Rogers Group Financial in Vancouver, says in some cases it can mean savings of up to $50,000 over the life of your mortgage.

But it really depends on how comfortable you are with risk. Say inflation jumps in the coming years, which, with Canada's overheated economy, is a very real possibility. The central bank will be forced to hike short-term interest rates and that will trigger a rise in variable mortgage rates, meaning it will take you even longer to own your house outright. "Are you going to be on the edge of your seat every time the Bank of Canada has a new announcement?" says Neufeld. "That will keep some people up at night." In that case, especially for first-time homebuyers, it makes more sense to lock in mortgage rates for the first five years, and then switch to a variable mortgage later on.

The tough decisions don't end once you've moved into your new home, though. Over the years, you're likely to add to your brood, and those four walls may start to feel a bit constricting. This brings up a whole new question: Do you renovate or just move into a bigger home? It used to be families spent decades in one house unless they had to move for a job. Now young people think nothing of trading up after barely five years. So what works best for a growing family?

The first thing you have to ask yourself is how much more house you need, says Mike Berton, a financial planner in Vancouver who went through this very question in 2001. Berton and his wife were planning to have a third child and needed to upsize their digs, so they got quotes from contractors about how much the renovations would cost. Once you know that, he says, look around and see if you can get a house that will be as nice for the same price. In Berton's case, his $300,000 house needed $220,000 in work. But after spending a long time house hunting, they couldn't find a house for half a million that they liked as much. With today's red-hot housing market, such a task would be even harder. "You can't buy a neighbourhood," he says. "It's hard to equate it to money, but is your old street quiet, close to a school, with neighbours you like?"

What's more, on top of the sale price of buying a new house there are other costs to consider, such as real estate commissions, legal fees, land transfer taxes and possible penalties if you break your existing mortgage. Those can easily add up to more than $20,000. As an added reason to go the reno route, the government offers a CST credit on fees paid to a contractor for a major home renovation.

Having said all that, there are some important things to consider before embarking on that renovation project. Where will your family live while the house is being ripped to pieces, and how much will that accommodation cost? What's more, can you even find a contractor you trust to do the work? Berton says the contractor he used now has a three-year waiting list.

At least that will give you plenty of time to catch up on all those home reno reality TV shows.

EDUCATION

Congratulations, you've got a roof over your head and the baby-making part is complete. Now for the tough stuff. After paying off next month's credit card bill—the one with the Bugaboo stroller, BabyBjörn and that perfect little snowsuit from Baby Gap—it's time to start saving the $111,100 it's going to cost to send junior to university.



BY 2025, IT WILL COST ABOUT $111,000 TO SEND YOUR KID TO UNIVERSITY FOR FOUR YEARS

That's right, mom and dad, experts say a four-year undergraduate degree at a Canadian university—including room and board—will be closing in on the $30,000-a-year mark when your future doctor/lawyer/teacher/telemarketer heads to campus in 2025. Not so cute all of sudden, are they? Well, don't panic—financial experts have some advice.

Most agree that a Registered Education Savings Plan (RESP) is the best place to start when saving for your college bound bambino. "Where else are you getting a 20 per cent return these days?" says Patricia Lovett-Reid, a senior vice-president with TD Waterhouse. Lovett Reid is referring to the fact that the government will top up your RESP contribution with a 20 per cent bonus (called the Canadian Education Savings Grant) up to a maximum of $500 annually. There are additional grant programs for lower-income Canadians. As well, the money invested in an RESP, which can be set up through any bank, is sheltered from the taxman until your child uses it and, even then, is only taxed at their income bracket. And thanks to Jim Flaherty's 2007 budget, Canadians can now invest up to a total of $50,000 per child into an RESP.

The advantage of an RESP is clear when you crunch the numbers. If you can sock away $250 a month (including the government top up) into an RESP, and it earns an average of eight per cent a year, after 18 years you will have paid $45,000 into the fund, but its total value will be $115,024 by the time your kid is hanging posters in their dorm room. Compare that with someone who invests the same amount (less the CESG, of course) per year for 18 years in a non-registered account and also earns an eight per cent return. Their grand total: $82,972.

But what if your child doesn't bother with university? Maybe he or she skips it for the PGA tour and there isn't another child to take over the RESP. In that case, the CESGs are returned to the government but the investment income is refunded to the subscriber (you) as taxable income. There's a 20 per cent surtax on top of that, but parents can avoid it by putting the money into an RRSP.

"Parents should use the RESP as the corner stone" of education savings, says David Ablett of the Investors Group. But if you think you'll need more than an RESP will provide (perhaps your little darling has her heart set on Harvard), there are other options. Formal trusts can ensure that the money will be used for education, but can be expensive to set up (a lawyer and annual tax returns are required). Informal trusts are cheaper, but, warns Ablett, the lack of a formal arrangement could result in the Canada Revenue Agency deeming all the investment income taxable in the hands of the parent.

Another top-up alternative is an insurance policy, which is less expensive and time consuming than creating a trust. By transferring ownership of the policy to the child at 18, says Ablett, the child can access the cash surrender value and likely pay little tax. If your child doesn't use the policy for education, it can provide life insurance coverage with low or no premiums for when he or she is older.

Almost as important as investing early is starting the discussion with your kids about paying for university as soon as possible, says Lovett Reid. She suggests getting them involved by saving through a part-time job (after all, it is their education). And, in the case of parents who really can't afford to help, Lovett Reid says it's a bad idea to sacrifice your own retirement savings for the sake of the kid's college fund, "because the parent doesn't have as much time to make up the lost ground." If that means the kids have to take on some student debt to get a diploma, so be it. You can't baby 'em forever.

MARIANNE HELM

CAR

Once you've got the house and the college fund taken car of, it's time to think about filling the driveway. Buying a fun car is one thing, buying the right car with the right financing is more difficult. But if you want to pick up the most financially sound vehicle you can, learn to love the 2005 Dodge Caravan.



THE BEST VALUES ARE USED CARS, LIKE THE 2005 DODGE CARAVAN: CHEAP AND RELIABLE

Sure, maybe it's not the hottest looking vehicle on the road, but what it lacks in style, it makes up for in other ways—ways that make it the savvy car-buyer's dream purchase, explains George Iny, president of the Automobile Protection Association in Montreal. It can be picked up off-lease (having depreciated about 50 per cent) for a little over $10,000. It's a reliable car—with seating for seven and air conditioning, no less—yet that isn't reflected in its market value, unlike most Toyotas and Hondas that hold their value better. When financed with a bank loan, the monthly payments would be roughly equivalent to leasing. And by 2014 or so, it would probably still be worth $2,000.

The used car today is the best value, says Iny. Particularly with the strong dollar and the large supply of used cars in the United States that trickle into Canada, there are a lot of good deals to be had. Of course, the used car isn't for everyone. Buying a ride is a very personal experience (even an irrational one when it steers into questions of taste and style), and there are advantages and drawbacks to all the methods of buying—whether used or new, buy or lease. "Depending on how you cut the numbers, it's really close either way. It comes down to a lot of other factors rather than just mathematics," says Greg Holohan, an executive with ScotiaMcLeod.

Leasing has emerged as a popular option in Canada in the past decade, as cars have become more expensive. Among Canadians in their 30s, 45 per cent lease compared to 48 per cent who still buy with a loan, according to J.D. Power and Associates. The popularity of leasing has to do with the low monthly rates—you don't pay for the whole car, just for the three or four years you have it. It works well for those who want a new car regularly, are concerned about monthly cash flow, and don't want to worry about breakdowns.

The flip side of leasing is that, in the long-term, it's far more expensive than buying. "Over three leases, you'll be behind someone who buys a car by at least $15,000 dollars," says Iny. When you buy and when the payments are done you own a car that still has, ideally, many good years left under its hood. But there are no guarantees. "It's just like the market—if you're an owner you bear the risk," says Holohan. And a car, unlike a house, should never be looked at as an investment, since it depreciates very quickly. Anyone who plans to sell a car after four years should forget about buying, says Iny.

One of the trickiest questions in car buying is financing. Should you do it through a dealer or a bank? In the end, there isn't a whole lot of difference between the two options. Some find it convenient to do both the buying and financing at the dealership. Banks, on the other hand, may be able to offer a slightly better interest rate than what the dealer is offering, so it's worth shopping around. "A credit union is a good choice," says Iny. "You may be able to go back to the dealer and say, 'I know you can do better.'"

When it comes to the fine print on leasing, put as little money down as possible, says Iny. If the car is written off, or if you have to end the lease early (which can be expensive on its own), it's money you will never see again. If you have money lying around for a sizable lease down payment, it would be far safer to invest it someplace else.

Still, if you're looking for the best bang for your buck, and you've given up on impressing the neighbours, learn to love the Caravan.

DEBT

So, if you've got a house, kids, and a car in the driveway, chances are you've also got debt. The question is, how much is too much and what can you do about it? "If you're spending more than 15 per cent of your income paying for your consumer debt (that excludes house and car debt) you're in deep doo-doo," says Gail Vaz Oxlade, a financial adviser and tough-talking host of *Til Debt Do Us Part* on the Slice network.

For many Canadians, who've opted in recent years for spending over savings, staying below that mark isn't easy. In 2006, Canadians charged $215 billion on their credit cards, up from $170 billion in 2004. Not everyone pays the balance off in full every month, which means that many of us are getting killed by interest rates of 18 per cent or more. Things are even worse for those enticed by the introductory rates offered by many American credit card companies that have come north. Some charge 35 to 40 per cent (including all the fees and insurance) after the six-month trial period is up, says Vaz Oxlade.

If people can't control themselves in the mall, they should at least help themselves by transferring to cheaper credit cards (in fact,

just threatening to take your free-spending ways elsewhere is often enough to get a couple of points shaved off your interest rate). Vaz-Oxlade also recommends passing on department store cards, which commonly charge 28 per cent on unpaid balances. The exception, she says, is to sign up for the one time-only 10 per cent discount, pay off the balance in full and then cut up the card. Also avoid payday advances. As for "buy now, pay later" purchases, even those with the best intentions fall on hard times and can't pay it off in full when the time comes, and that can lead to spiralling debts. "Interest is immediately calculated on the 12 or 18 months they've given you," says Vaz-Oxlade. "You're better off putting a big purchase on a line of credit. In fact, she recommends consolidating all your high-priced debt into a credit line—especially one tied to the equity of your home—because it's "relatively cheap."

Of course, no matter how inexpensive the debt, your troubles will multiply if you don't pay down the principal. Vaz-Oxlade was recently working with a couple who had a combined income of $135,000 and a $15,000 line of credit with a 9.5 per cent interest rate. Nothing to worry about, right? Wrong. The problem was, their monthly payments were $125. "It was going to take them 47 years to pay it off at a cost of about $46,000 in interest," says Vaz-Oxlade, who recommends an emergency fund of three to six months of expenses to protect against an unexpected credit crunch.

In Richard Cooper's world, all debt—aside from mortgages—is bad. And the problem with consolidation, he says, is that many people trying to stave off a financial crisis have a credit rating that is so bad only sub prime lenders charging 25 per cent or more will be willing to take a chance on them. "It's pretty tough," he says, "to borrow your way out of debt."

That's where Cooper's Markham-based company, Total Debt Freedom, comes in. Cooper's staff approach creditors and try and negotiate a settlement on the unsecured debt of their clients at a reduced amount. This works, "as long as you can give them a reasonable hardship story, like this guy just didn't wake up in the morning and decide to rip off his creditors," says Cooper, who started his company in 2005. "Bad choices, bad business decisions, a divorce, whatever. You have to let them know that he didn't do this intentionally." The goal is for the client to pay about half (including the creditor's settlement, Total Debt's fee and GST) of what is owed, says Cooper. "[Credit card companies] don't want to take it, but they know it's better than the guy going bankrupt since they'll get next to nothing that way," he says. Though his business is in a "recession" right now due to the economic boom, it will likely be the business to be in if the economy cools, as many suspect, and debt catches up with Canadians in the next couple of years. The best way to avoid being one of his clients is to keep debt to a minimum and pay it off as fast as humanly possible.

INSURANCE

Okay, so you're living the good life. Or at least the pretty good life. You're paying off the mortgage and dreaming of retirement. But one of the most important decisions has to do with what happens come the end of it. Your life, that is. Pondering your ultimate demise isn't high on anyone's list of fun things to do. Yet financial planners say even spending a little time asking yourself some important questions can help you decide whether life insurance is right for you. And if so, how much your family will need.



CONSOLIDATING CREDIT CARD DEBTS IS FINE, BUT 'IT'S TOUGH TO BORROW YOUR WAY OUT OF DEBT'

The key is to figure out what you want the coverage for in the first place. Is it to replace lost income after you're gone, or for estate-planning purposes? For those with young children and the burden of a mortgage to consider, the key is to have enough insurance to keep surviving family members comfortable after you're gone. "Besides the grief of losing the insured person, you don't want your dependents to have to significantly adjust their lifestyles," says Mike Cherney, a financial planner in Toronto. "If you have children, you need enough income to support them until they are old enough to be on their own." As a rule of thumb, planners say, that means providing a pile of cash that's between eight and 10 times your current salary.

In many cases, that means looking at term insurance. As the name suggests, the policies exist for a certain period of time, say 10 or 20 years, and then expire. Planners compare it to leasing an insurance policy. In the case of a family with very young children, it might be wise to take out a 20-year policy. If the kids are much older, five years might do. The thing is with each year you age, the cost of the premiums can go up dramatically, so you want to buy early, and make sure you have enough coverage, but not too much. At the very least, planners suggest having enough insurance to cover the outstanding balance of your mortgage. The bank lending the mortgage might even demand it.

There are other types of insurance out there, of course. Whole life insurance is a permanent policy you pay into over your entire life. The premiums remain the same and are usually less than in the case of term insurance. But the ultimate payout can wind up being much smaller, depending on how much you've put into the policy.

Meanwhile, the insurance industry has been busy coming up with new types of policies. Critical illness insurance pays out a lump sum if you must stop work due to certain illnesses, while long-term-care insurance is slowly catching on now that people are living so much longer and require special care. But the costs for all that insurance can quickly add up.

Exactly how much life insurance is going to cost you depends a lot on how you've been living your life. A male in his mid 30s who smokes and is overweight can easily expect to fork out steep premiums of more than $80 a month for term insurance. If, on the other hand, you're very fit and smoke-free, premiums can come in at around $26. Premiums for women are cheaper across the board.

Deciding which insurance company to go with is something best done with a financial planner, but thanks to the Internet it's easy to do your own research first. One good web site for comparing term insurance policies is *term4sale.com*, which offers quotes from 20 different companies based on a short list of questions about your health and insurance needs. But, cautions Wayne Lang, a financial adviser with Assante Capital Management, it doesn't always pay to shop by price alone. "You may never have heard of them," he says. "You want to ensure that they'll be there when you need them." Or, to be more precise, when your family needs them.

RETIREMENT

At the end of it all comes the reward: the chance to put up your feet and enjoy the fruits of your working life. At least, you hope so. The popular notion about retirement these days is that few people think about it early enough in life, and even fewer manage to save enough money to realize their retirement dreams. There's no shortage of grim statistics to back it up. A survey last week by Desjardins Financial Security, for instance, found that 66 per cent of Canadians don't have a retirement savings plan at all.

The message is that today's workers are destined to pass their golden years in crummy nursing homes and trailer parks. But experts say you should take the ugly numbers in stride. For most, there's no reason to panic. For those who still have a good number of working years ahead of them, a comfortable retirement is within reach. It may require some foresight and simple planning, but not the kind of superhuman saving Canadians are often led to believe is necessary.

Everybody wants to know how much money they'll need to last them once the rat race is over. Unfortunately, as any financial adviser will say, there's no magic number. "Retirement isn't so much a financial event as it is a life transition," says Greg Holohan, with ScotiaMcLeod. What you need depends on how you plan to pass your retirement (in a La Z-Boy or travelling the world?) and how comfortably you want to do it. Most advisers recommend planning to live in retirement on 70 per cent of the income earned in your working years. But even that can be flawed. It's actually quite high, argues Malcolm Hamilton, a consultant and actuary with Mercer. Even 50 per cent would probably suffice, given that in retirement people typically have far fewer of the big expenses and debts they had in their prime working years, he says.

Regardless of the exact ratio, it can add up to a lot of money, and getting to that number might seem daunting. Any middle-income Canadian with a mortgage, children and a car knows that at the end of the day, there isn't much money left to save. But people shouldn't feel "unduly depressed and unduly burdened early in life if they can't save a lot," says Hamilton. "Most Canadian families trying to pay off a mortgage have no choice but to live frugally, so I cut them slack on their retirement savings."

While it's okay to focus early in life on mortgage payments (which are, after all, a form of retirement savings), don't get carried away focusing exclusively on building up equity in your home. Advisers warn that housing markets fluctuate, and house values can drop significantly. "The one rule that has almost no exception is, diversify. If you've got all your eggs in your house, you're breaking that rule," says Hamilton.



RETIREMENT SAVING SHOULDN'T BE PAINFUL. 'YOU HAVE TO BE ABLE TO SLEEP AT NIGHT.'

It is important to find a workable balance early on between paying off debts, and putting at least some money into an RRSP, which has the big advantage of deferring taxes. The "pay yourself first" concept is still a very powerful one, says Holohan. And it's a good practice to get into for later in life when retirement savings should be a higher priority.

Another key question is how to invest your savings. RRSP contributions can go in a variety of places, from stocks to equity funds to bonds. Advisers say that the younger you are, the more your investments should be weighted toward stocks (over time, the market will outperform bonds). As years go by, you can gradually shift toward more conservative, slower growth investments. Not everyone is comfortable being heavily invested in stocks, however. "You have to be able to sleep at night. That's the most important thing," says Jamie Golombek, vice-president of taxation and estate planning at AIM Trimark Investments. The biggest mistake is to get beyond your comfort level, he adds. That's when people begin to get emotional, selling low and buying at high points in the market.

It's also important to note that mutual funds come with fees attached—some high enough that they can seriously hamper returns. The fees are measured in what's known as a management expense ratio, or MER. Funds with the lowest MER aren't necessarily the best, but be wary of anything much higher than the average of about 2.5 per cent.

For those lucky enough to have a pension, which draws contributions off of paycheques automatically, there's even less reason to panic about retirement. Public sector employees often find they've saved enough through their pension to comfortably retire early.

Saving for retirement is, in the end, about balance and choice. Get help from an adviser, but don't be bullied into a plan you're not comfortable with. Hamilton says that if you want to scrimp and sacrifice for 30 years to live wealthy in retirement, do it. If your savings are more modest in your early years, where mortgages and kids are your priority, well, that's okay too. M

ON THE WEB: Trying to sort through all the challenges and expenses of running a household can be daunting. To get the answers you need, check out the ***Maclean's* Family Finance Prioritizer**. Want to know how big of a mortgage you qualify for and what your payments will be? Wondering how much you can save by consolidating your debts? Where can you get the best buys on insurance? Will you be able to retire at 55? All the best tools are there, and it's all for free. For the insights to analyze your finances and get your house in order, go to **www.macleans.ca/familyfinance**

FACING THE NEW REALITY OF RETIREMENT

Financial planners promise golden years in the lap of luxury, but many Canadians are finding they have to downsize their retirement dreams

BY JASON KIRBY • Barely six weeks after Suzanne Leblanc retired from her job as an executive assistant in Montreal, she began to worry that all was not right with her nest egg. A decision by Leblanc's broker had landed the 60 year old single mother of two with a huge tax bill. More worrisome, her investment statements suddenly came bathed in red ink. Then Leblanc's worst fears came true when she learned her signature had been forged and her investments transferred out of her registered savings account. Nine years later, Leblanc can only guess at how many tens of thousands of dollars she lost. "I damn near lost my house," she says.



Regulators stripped the broker of his licence, but that did little to help Leblanc (who, along with some other people interviewed for this story, asked that her real name not be used). So, not even two years into retirement, she took a deep breath and went back to work. "It wasn't what I intended to do, but I found it was something I enjoyed," she says of her job at a financial services company. After rebuilding some of her lost savings, Leblanc earned enough to do minor renovations on her house and even travel to Europe occasionally. Only now, at 70, is she talking about slowing down. "The one thing I didn't want to do was carry any anger, because it only hurts you," she says. "I just had to move on and say 'That's it, I was not meant to be rich.' "

Not everybody has to face that kind of luck, but more and more Canadians are having to deal with a similar bottom line: we simply don't have the cash to retire in the level of comfort we thought we would. Despite the warm assurances of financial planners who repeatedly tell us we can have it all—the nice house, the cottage, the tropical vacations and plenty of money to support the kids—retirement rarely works out so tidily. Whether the result of poor planning or just plain bad luck, studies indicate many Canadians won't have enough saved up to live the lifestyle they envision.

That doesn't mean all hope is lost. By coming to grips with their new retirement realities, some seniors are trying to find ways to adjust to life on less while not sacrificing their happiness. That can mean trimming expenses, going back to work or downsizing their homes. It's not easy, but the experts agree the time to start thinking about those options is now.

'MOST OF US WILL HAVE TO SETTLE FOR THE MOTEL 8 IN GRAND FORKS, INSTEAD OF THE HYATT IN HAWAII'



Studies show the majority of Canadians now plan to retire before the age of 65, and expect to live much longer than their parents did. The problem is many Canadians' idea of saving for retirement is to kick in to the office lottery pool. Independent studies by financial services firms paint a bleak picture. Last month, Fidelity Canada issued a report that found the median Canadian household is on track to take a 50 per cent haircut on their income after retirement. Granted, the fund companies have a vested interest in selling more investment product to anxious Canadians. But the numbers suggest scaling back our lifestyle is an inevitability for most of us in retirement. "The vast majority of people have to downsize their retirement," says Rick Henderson, a financial adviser in Winnipeg. "They're going to the Motel 8 in Grand Forks instead of the Hyatt in Hawaii."

Scaling back doesn't necessarily have to be quite that drastic, but it helps to plan ahead and be prepared for a more frugal lifestyle. When getting ready for his early retirement at 55, Dave Moon, a former telecom technician in Winnipeg, and his wife, Barbara, knew their combined income would drop afterwards. They aggressively paid down their debt and overhauled their spending habits. Out went all the credit cards, save one for emergencies. That put them on a much sounder footing than many other retirees. A survey by Desjardins Financial last week found 80 per cent of Canadians expect to enter retirement "in the red," meaning they'll still be paying off debts incurred earlier in life, like a mortgage.

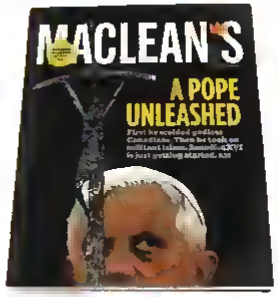
"We both went into it with the notion we would continue to live a more cash-in-hand purchasing existence, rather than using credit because it's convenient," says Moon, whose post-retirement income is down to 60 per cent of what it was before. Barbara, 57, still works as a nurse. The couple are always on the lookout for items on sale. And when they decided to redo their kitchen, they opted for the barter route rather than hiring an expensive contractor. The Moons asked a friend and retired tradesman to help them work on the kitchen themselves, in exchange for Dave's assistance on projects later on. Moon says such moves have allowed him and his wife to improve their lives on more modest means. "I promised my wife that when we



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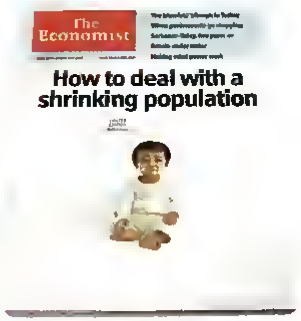
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retired, we would not live on baloney and beans," he says. "We still go out to dinner with friends. You still need to live life."

To do that, though, a growing number of retired Canadians, like Leblanc in Montreal, are finding they need to go back to work. According to a 2005 study by Statscan, just over one-fifth of people who retired in recent years later ended up finding some form of paid employment. And seniors are in hot demand with the labour market as tight as it is. Going back to work isn't always about money, but the reality is the bulk of seniors who pick up a job do so to help them get by



'I PROMISED MY WIFE WE WOULD NOT LIVE ON BALONEY AND BEANS. YOU STILL NEED TO LIVE LIFE.'

In a survey of 2,000 older job-seekers expected to be released this week, *retiredworker.ca*, a specialized job hunting site, found 42.5 per cent of respondents said they needed the extra income to cover basic living expenses.

That's no surprise to Judy Cutler, 66. After 15 years away from work, Cutler is now the director of government relations with Canada's Association for the Fifty Plus. "I would love to retire and do different things, but I don't want to live in poverty," she says. Like many working seniors, Cutler has negotiated a more flexible work schedule that at least gives her some downtime. For instance, she's taking next month off to go to India. "It's a compromise," she says.

But going back to work isn't an option for everyone. For those retirees who have health problems, or those who lack computer skills, the jobs available are seriously limited. Do we really want to stand on our feet all day and greet shoppers at the local Wal-Mart if we don't have to? "There's this myth out there that work is the solution to a lack of savings," says Carien Jutting, a financial planner in Stratford, Ont. "The people who go back to work and make real dollars, versus minimum wage, are usually professionals who have something to sell."

John Wichelow certainly has no interest in returning to the workaday world. At 67, he's had a colourful banking career working in four countries and ran a home business, along with his wife Anna, producing educational material for schools. Even so, he says he's never been good at accumulating savings. "We don't have pots of money," he says. The couple has owned a home in Stratford, Ont., for the last six years, but with Wichelow's health beginning to deteriorate they decided to move to Toronto to be closer to their daughter. The only way to afford the move, though, was to sell the house and move into a rental apartment. "The money we're getting from selling our house will give us a lovely life in Toronto," he says. For many retirees, the thought of giving up their home is terrifying, but there's more to life than owning a spot of turf. "A word I love and I think other retirees should use more often is 'enough,'" says Wichelow. "You don't need a house to be happy."

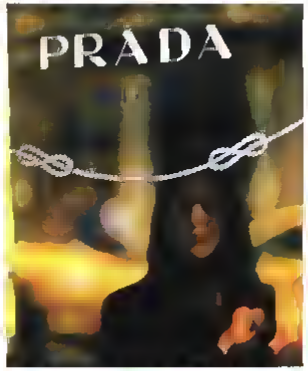
Whether we're prepared for it or not, most Canadians are on track for some difficult decisions come retirement. If we insist on clinging to the notion that we will have enough to do it all, the disappointment will be that much more bitter to swallow when we find we don't. But it is a reality that the whole family will need to get a grip on, financial planners say. Canadians carry an idealized notion of retirement in our heads, one that we mull over as we battle rush hour traffic or clock another all-nighter at the office.

We'd all like to think we'll have the house, the cottage, the trips, plenty of money for a life of leisure and still be able to leave a fat inheritance for the kids. But perhaps it's better to bring our expectations more in line with Frank Maurice, a retired teacher in Ottawa (who asked that his real name not be used). "Do we really need a lot of money to enjoy life anyway?" says Maurice. "Looking back over the years, I can say that health is the main thing, and the best things in life are free or not very expensive." M

HOOKED ON THE SPENDING HIGH

Compulsive shopping is pushing millions to the brink of financial ruin

BY BARBARA RIGHTON • She remembers it as if it were yesterday. On a business trip to Pasadena, Calif., in the late 1990s, Ann Matthews peered into an upscale western outfitters and saw a pair of green lizard-skin cowboy boots almost glowing on a shelf way at the back of the store. Without a moment's thought, she walked in, tried on the boots and paid for them with her American Express card. Two weeks later, back at home in Markham, Ont., she got the bill. With the exchange rate, the boots had cost her $2,000. Worse, she couldn't share her shock or her guilt: her husband had just cashed in his RRSPs for the down payment on their first house.



LIKE ANY addiction, impulse buyers crave an emotional escape from life's problems

Such wildly erratic spending has a fancy medical name, omomania, though hardly anybody knows it. In the lexicon of the Me Decade, it came to be called "retail therapy," which was funny enough when only two per cent of the population was doing it. But last year, a landmark Stanford University study estimated that the number may have grown



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to as high as 16 per cent. In other words, as many as 48 million Americans and five million Canadians are believed to be obsessively blowing their money on things they don't need, from handbags to Harleys. The real motivation, experts say, is not the thing, but the kick of buying it. The frisson. That compulsion for a buyer's high is a psychological addiction like any other, and the numbers suggest that, for millions of Canadians, the uncontrollable urge to splurge may be the single biggest impediment on the road to their financial future.

Queen's University marketing professor Laurence Ashworth examined impulse buying last year in a series of studies published in the *Journal of Consumer Research*. He calls this "sudden, overwhelming, compelling urge to buy" a mood enhancer, like doing drugs or having sex. The joy is in the anticipation, says Mackenzie Investments executive vice-president of marketing John Dale. "Lots of us think, 'Jeez, if I bought a BMW, I'd feel great.' But after the rush is over, you get used to it, and it's just a car." The Stanford study reported that the consequences can include family conflict, crime and even suicide attempts.



WOMEN TEND to feel compelled to buy household items. Men favour clothes.

Like drinking too much or eating too much, the root cause of impulse shopping is unhappiness, says Coquitlam, B.C., psychologist Denis Boyd. Impulse shoppers buy because they crave an emotional lift. Pronto. Wobbly marriages can spawn it, Boyd explains, and high-pressure jobs feed it. "It's a cousin to shoplifting," he says, "where people steal when they don't need to." Impulse shoppers have reported collecting thousands of wrenches, for example. But Boyd, who treats compulsive shoppers of both sexes, thinks men and women seek different thrills. "Women see their personalities reflected in their homes," he says, so they load up on candle holders and Cuisinarts, or they travel, or do both. Irene Baxter, a 23-year-old hairstylist from Stouffville, Ont., for instance, rang up $3,000 in high-end clothes last year as a "reward" after she ended a relationship. This fall, she took herself to Paris. Men buy "toys," Boyd says—LCD TVs, iPods—or clothes.

For Toronto clerical worker Mark Steiner, the compulsion to buy exploded in the 1980s when he got a job in a high-end department store and suddenly felt inadequate. In order to project a better image to his co-workers, Steiner bought two pairs of $500 shoes and stuffed his closets full of designer suits—28 of them in all. Initially, Steiner loved the shopping experience, but, "When it came time to paying my bills, I thought, 'oh, s--t, I shouldn't have done this.' " Finally, he got help from his family doctor in the form of an antidepressant. At least, he says, it calms him down enough to make him think *before* he buys.

It's not as if impulse shoppers don't know the financial repercussions. In a Mackenzie Investments poll last January, 37 per cent of 1,000 Canadian adults said they were concerned that their lifestyle—the house, the cars, the holidays—was not sustainable over the next 10 years. Still, whether they're worried or not, nearly half said they never stop themselves from buying *anything* they want.

'YOU KNOW YOU DON'T HAVE TO HAVE IT, BUT THEN YOU STILL BUY IT. I GUESS I HAVE A DISEASE.'



37 PER CENT of Canadians fear their lifestyle is unsustainable over the next 10 years. Still, half buy anything they desire.

At 43, Steiner admits he has no savings. Six months ago, when he "stumbled" and lost a job, he had nothing to fall back on. His father bailed him out. It's a familiar story to Vancouver portfolio manager Adrian Mastracci of KCM Wealth Management Inc. He has counselled many like Steiner, who are only one paycheque away from crisis—"no savings, maxed-out credit cards, no emergency fund, nothing"—largely due to credit card debt racked up on holidays, he says, or gadgets in the living room. Many of them only seek help when they have hit rock bottom and are looking at what he calls "the B-word."

Living paycheque to paycheque is almost normal these days, Dale says. "One of the main problems is that saving and investing aren't as much fun as spending. It's very difficult for people to be satisfied with what they have. How we got that way, I don't know."

Certainly, Canadians love to shop on credit. Thirty years ago, according to the Canadian Bankers Association, there were 8.2 million charge cards in circulation. Now there are more than 61 million, roughly two cards for every man, woman and child in the country. And the number of retailers who accept them? Up from 270,000 in 1977 to more than one million today. Still, Mastracci says, "I try to stay away from blaming credit card companies or banks. We know who's at fault."

While credit cards and debit cards may distance people from their money, Dale says the simple truth is that society has undergone a sea change since his parents' generation, when people went shopping because they needed something. "My 17-year-old daughter shops as a recreation," he says, "like skiing used to be." Adds Mastracci, "It's almost like today people know that when their paycheque arrives, there is always going to be a shortfall." Millionaires, he adds, don't necessarily earn big salaries. They just live within their means and make decent investments over time.

The truly sad thing, says Boyd, is that shopaholics' habits result in a letdown, only cured by more shopping. "People who consciously approach a purchase and plan for it are the ones who are probably going to get the longer enjoyment out of it," he says. Impulse shoppers are never happy no matter what they buy.

That unhappiness manifests in many ways. Thirty-two-year-old City of Toronto computer analyst Yusif Jawando takes his packages—shoes and clothes from thrice-weekly trips to Winners—in the front door, past his wife, and downstairs to the basement where he slides them guiltily under a couch. There they sit in their boxes for months before he wears them. "You know you don't have to have it," he says, "but you buy it." Then he laughs. "I guess I've got a disease." M

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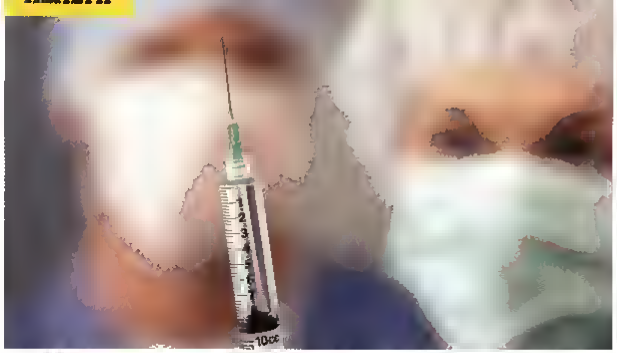
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THE U.S. PLASTIC surgeons' association recommends avoiding injection lipolysis, for now

DISSOLVING FEARS

Fat-melting injections are all the rage, even if no one knows if it's safe

BY SUZANNE TAYLOR • In a society obsessed with quick fixes, it's not surprising that the siren song of injection lipolysis is luring more and more Canadians. The injections, which promise to dissolve away unwanted double chins, paunches, and extra weight around the hips and thighs, have made their way from Europe and South America to the United States and Canada, and the invasion shows no signs of slowing. Brian Peterson, a plastic surgeon in Kelowna, B.C., and past president of the Canadian Society for Aesthetic (Cosmetic) Plastic Surgery, says the number of such non-surgical cosmetic procedures being performed is increasing by an astonishing 1,000 per cent a year.

The formula being injected was originally approved in Germany (under the name Lipostabil) to treat medical conditions such as liver disease and fatty tumours. During the past decade, doctors in Europe and South America started experimenting with injecting the mixture as a cosmetic treatment and the practice has been growing ever since, even though it still isn't approved for any use by Health Canada and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. To get around the lack of approval, doctors in North America write prescriptions for the individual parts of the well-known formula and have a compounding pharmacist mix the cocktail for patients. But many physicians remain skeptical about the safety and efficacy of the procedure. With so many unknowns, says Peterson, "I wouldn't recommend anyone have it done."

Although the Canadian plastic surgery society has no official position statement concerning injection lipolysis, the treatment's growing popularity and the persistent controversy surrounding it have pushed some of North America's regulatory bodies into action. The American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ASAPS) came out with an official position statement in May, denouncing injection lipolysis. It urges doctors to caution interested patients that, currently, there isn't enough scientific evidence to support the practice or ensure patients' safety, and that they should "wait until something definitive is known." While several dozen journal papers have been written about injection lipolysis, none has conclusively proven that one can inject safely and that sort of thing," says Steven Weiss, an assistant clinical professor at UCLA and dermatologist who offers injection lipolysis and has written a paper on it.

Those offering the treatment may soon be able to point to more than just anecdotal evidence. The ASAPS had sought FDA approval to begin a clinical trial on injection lipolysis for nearly two years, and finally got the go-ahead in September. The trial, which will be supervised by the FDA, will follow patients for nearly a year to determine what, if any, reactions and long-term complications result from the injections. It should also give researchers a better understanding as to exactly how the drugs work and what happens to the broken-down fat cells, all of which is still a matter of debate. Even if the FDA is satisfied that injection lipolysis is safe and effective, it will likely be another five years before an approved formula is on the market, says Weiss.

In the meantime, the organizations that regulate Canada's doctors are starting to keep better tabs on who's doing what, and how safely. The College of Physicians and Surgeons of Alberta intends to review the practice at a Nov. 21 committee meeting to decide whether to continue to allow its doctors to perform the procedure in their offices, or only in clinics that the province itself has licensed. And for the first time this year, the annual survey the Ontario college sends out to its member physicians asked them to report not only if they perform cosmetic procedures, but exactly which ones they offer, including injection lipolysis, and how often. The organization is also forming a special committee to assess whether individual doctors have undergone sufficient training. "I think we will find that the vast majority of people are perfectly fine," says spokeswoman Kathryn Clarke. "But I think through this exercise, we could identify people who do need more training to safely do what they're doing."

THEIR EFFECTIVENESS HASN'T BEEN PROVEN OR DISPROVED. IT'S NOT EVEN CLEAR HOW THEY WORK.

"There's no question that more regulation is going to occur," says Garrett Swerhkoff, a Kelowna naturopathic physician who has incorporated injection lipolysis into his practice since 2004. "And I don't have a problem with that, as long as regulation doesn't mean extermination." M

TONICS

IT'S BETTER TO CRACK A COLD ONE AFTER HOCKEY

Drinking beer when you're dehydrated from playing sports is better for you than drinking plain water. Spanish researchers claim beer's bubbles quench an athlete's thirst better than water, while the carbohydrates replenish energy. The findings fly in the face of previous research that said alcohol is a diuretic that drains the body of fluids. A British researcher now says that the low proportion of alcohol in beer shouldn't have a diuretic effect.

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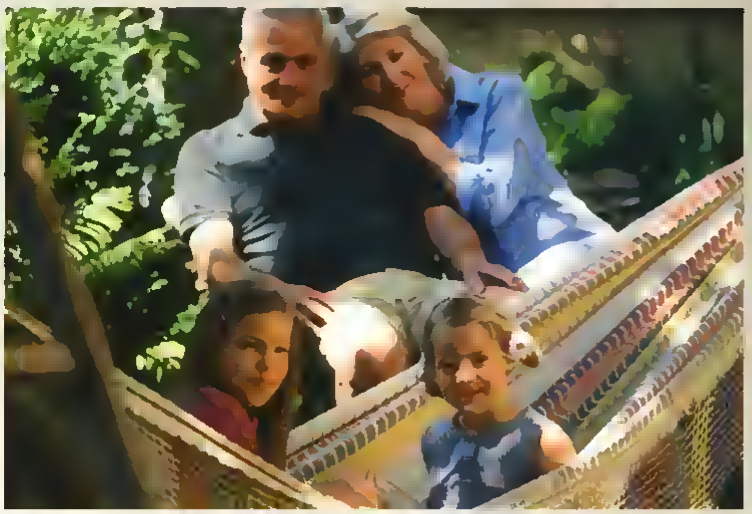
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RX FOR ETHNIC SEX

A Vancouver therapist specializes in 'sexual culture clashes'

BY MICHELLE TARNOPOLSKY • Kurt Preinsperg and his partner, Julie Wang, first met sex therapist Faizal Sahukhan three years ago when they attended his workshop on multicultural sex at a Vancouver sexuality centre. Two years later, the Austro-Canadian philosophy instructor and his Chinese-born partner were having serious relationship issues. "We were on the verge of breaking up when we sought out Faizal in his private practice," says the 54-year-old Preinsperg.

Sahukhan, an Indo-Canadian raised in Vancouver by traditional Muslim parents, has practiced clinical sexology and counselling therapy since 1997. "My mother is still wondering how I got into it," he laughs. Sahukhan says he noticed a need for sex therapists in B.C. "There were only a handful and none was ethnic."

During his career, which has included teaching at Vancouver's Langara College and writing an advice column for *The Canadian Immigrant Magazine*, the 40-year-old has seen more and more clients suffering from "sexual culture clash," in which Western individualistic and Eastern collectivistic romantic values collide. "He's very passionate," says Preinsperg, "about helping couples from different cultures understand each other."

Preinsperg, for example, was jealous of all the time Wang spent with her family, and she resented the fact that he refused to marry her. After dating and splitting up with a dozen Asian women over the years, he was tired of the pattern. With the help of Sahukhan, Wang has learned to accept that Preinsperg "just isn't the marrying kind," and it's clear to him that her child (from a previous relationship) and her mother are more important than he is. "Family is her purpose in life, and I'm sort of the cherry on the cake."

Sahukhan's clients tend to be in relationships already, so it's not as if he's offering advice on how, say, a guy can bed a cute Muslim girl. Anyway, unless you plan to marry her, he says, "forget about it." Even just dating an ethnic—South Asian, Asian, Middle Eastern—woman "is going to be a tough road." "If she has grown up here, your chances are better," he says. "But ethnic children are raised to think that premarital sex is taboo. So even if the Muslim girl decides to sleep with her boyfriend, she won't enjoy herself because of this unconscious resistance."

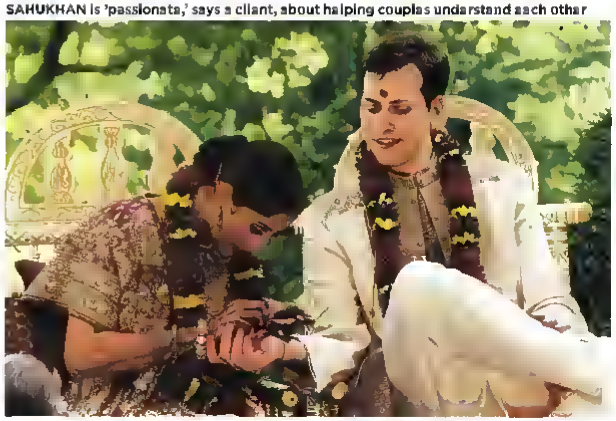
Many young ethnic clients share their fears about an arranged marriage with the sex counsellor. "Dear Faizal," writes an Indian woman, born and raised in Vancouver, to his advice column. "I agree with you about the difficulties a girl has in trying to cover up her lost virginity to her future husband and his family. Like the example you gave, I also feel like smearing fake blood on the sheets on my wedding night to 'prove' that I am still a virgin." Sahukhan tells his clients that true intimacy is impossible without honesty, and points out that these poor girls are so busy worrying about bursting a fake blood capsule that "they are not even enjoying this first sexually intimate moment with their husbands!"

The benefit of the therapist's insights came late for 26-year-old construction worker Amanda Marigliano and her 39-year-old Pakistani boyfriend Hameed Laskani (not their real names). Marigliano sought Sahukhan's advice regarding what she saw as Laskani's controlling behaviour and his refusal to introduce her to his mother, even though they had talked of marriage and kids. But Laskani spurned the counselling and Marigliano gave up on the relationship a few months ago. "I hear from many women in this position," says Sahukhan, who is completing a self-help book entitled *Dating the Ethnic Man: Strategies for Survival*. Marigliano had previously been to see the therapist about an Indian man she was dating who refused to reciprocate oral sex. "Not only have many ethnic men been raised to fear the vagina," explains Sahukhan, but they also abhor the cultural implications of "servicing" a woman. With couples like these, the therapist "helps the man disassociate his cultural take on oral sex and separate it from the equality that needs to be present if you're going to have a relationship with a Westerner."

As homework, Sahukhan suggests a sexual position in which "she's not looking down on him. It's side by side! This works very well."

Laskani has since moved out of his mother's house and begun meeting with the counsellor. "We'll see what the future holds," says Marigliano. "If there is enough compromise to have a relationship work in a romantic sense, then that might be something to explore." M

SAHUKHAN is 'passionate,' says a client, about helping couples understand each other



RICHARD T NOWITZ/CORBIS

MANY ETHNIC MEN ABHOR THE CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF 'SERVICING' A WOMAN



JAPAN: AN EXPLOSIVE NEED TO SAVE MONEY

This week the "Savings Bomb," a toy that delivers a coercive inducement for people to save money, goes on sale. If owners of the black ball-shaped bank don't put coins into it regularly, the toy bank suddenly lights up, rattles, shakes and then "explodes," firing coins all over the room. Says the toy's manufacturer, Tomy Co., "Users must pick up and collect the scattered coins and reflect on their laziness."

What drove women mad?

In Victorian science, the womb and the mind were inexorably linked

BY BRIAN BETHUNE • In 1810, a London physician created a table of what he considered the causes of the mental illnesses in 843 patients in Bedlam, his city's notorious madhouse cum tourist attraction. William Black's list, as Lisa Appignanesi shows in *Sad, Mad and Bad* (McArthur), her shrewd, humane, and wide ranging look at two centuries of mad women, is poised between two eras. The most common cause given is "grief" (almost four times more prevalent than "drink and intoxication"), but organic injury ("contusions and fractures of the skull," "venereal") finds a place, as do "religion" and even "methodism." Thus it was far from a traditional reckoning, which might well, in earlier times, have summed up all under "demonic possession" and would certainly not have dismissed God drunk religious enthusiasm as mania.

At the same time, Black's table bears no resemblance to modern psychiatry's reigning bible, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, if only because Black was interested in causes rather than symptoms and labelling, and wrote in plain English. But Black nonetheless pointed the way to the scientific future in his secular attitude and—not least for 19th century female patients—in his belief that body and mind were linked in a particularly intense way in women.

No fewer than 139 of his 843 Bedlamites were incarcerated because of "childbed." Known as "puerperal madness," this well-attested disorder of the era covered not just post-partum depression, newly prominent in our own time, but other manias blamed on the belief that the milk of nursing mothers sometimes poisons their brains, just as the blood of menopausal women did. Autopsies soon dismissed those notions, but a complex relationship between women and their mind would mark psychiatry through the century.

Like her favourites among the pioneering scientists, and Oliver Sacks today, Appignanesi traces her tale through individual case histories. Some are as famous as Freud's hysteric Anna O, others as obscure as Miss Beauchamp (a landmark case in personality disorder), but all of them say something about the subtle interplay of symptom and diagnosis, culture and contemporary worries.

The nascent Romantic movement valued storms of passion, and that cultural backdrop can be seen in the case of Mary Lamb, sister to famed essayist Charles. The siblings' classic children's book *Tales From Shakespeare* has never been out of print since they wrote it in 1807, and Mary was highly regarded in the Lambs' social circles, which included Samuel Coleridge and William Hazlitt—despite the fact that, in the grip of some mania, she had fatally stabbed her mother in the heart in 1796. Whatever her private troubles—and it's beyond easy to give a feminist reading to the case of a talented woman forced into endless hours of needlework to support an infirm mother, a senile father and an alcoholic (if also talented) brother—Mary was fortunate in her public circumstances. Upon Charles's promise of supervision she was released to a private madhouse and soon back to her home. Four years later, after Parliament rushed through a confinement act, Mary would have been locked up by law, her chances of eventual release minimal.

Almost a century later, with Freud's Anna O (the case name for German Jewish feminist Bertha Pappenheim), hysteria, previously thought to be a disease of feeble-minded poor women, moved to being a disorder of the high strung leisure class. It had always been a malleable condition, a label doctors were susceptible to pasting on anything they couldn't otherwise categorize. Anna O may have been a case in point: many modern neuroscientists are convinced her problems were entirely organic, derived from brain lesions developed as she cared for her tubercular father. But hysteria was also a useful vehicle for some young, well-off *fin de siecle* women, otherwise forbidden by their culture to even think about sex and work, let alone express themselves. Illness was a licence to act out, in provocative ways.

CRAZINESS MIGHT BE CAUSED BY 'GRIEF' OR 'METHODISM'



INSIDE BEDLAM A famala patiant at an 18th-cantury asylum

Likewise Miss Beauchamp (in reality Clara Norton Fowler), who developed three alternate personalities during treatment between 1898 and 1904. The original was a repressed and proper Bostonian, the main alter ego was much more carefree and attention-seeking. Once again, looking backwards, such a young woman in that era, in the home city of the American Woman Suffrage Association, does not seem so strange. Fowler later married her analyst's colleague. "Star patients," Appignanesi dryly writes, "one way or another often end up staying in the profession."

It all adds up, in the author's opinion, to a cautionary tale for our medicated times. However certain the diagnosis, however efficacious the treatment—some of the time, for some of the sufferers—life will always escape medical categories and cures. M



THE WILD WEST: MCDOUGAL VS. DESPERADO

Ha might hava baan ona of tha baddast outlaws of the Old Wast, but Jessa Jamas was no match for a young tort lawyer. Documents recantly uncovarad in Kansas City, Mo., indicata that ona Hanry McDougal, 25, suad Jamas and his brothar in 1870 for compansation for a horsa and equipmant thay stola from McDougal's cliant at gunpoint. McDougal demanded $223.50 and won tha judgmant. Not only that, but the James brothars actually paid up.

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JEREMY WOTHERSPOON
THANK COD

After a decade of racking up medals, speed skater **Jeremy Wotherspoon** decided to take last season off. "I was at a point where I needed to look at things from a different perspective if I wanted to come back and be good again," he says. An avid fly fisherman, Wotherspoon asked his trainer **Finn Halvorsen** to find him a place in Halvorsen's native Norway where Wotherspoon could think. The Red Deer, Alta., native landed on a three-man cod-fishing boat, hauling commercial catches aboard in heaving seas. The sojourn as a fisherman paid off: last Friday Wotherspoon didn't just win the 500-m at the opening stop on the long-track speed-skating World Cup circuit in Utah, he smashed the record, shaving a fifth of a second off it. He also took gold in the 1,000-m. "I've hardly been back at it," said Wotherspoon, "so I'm excited to see what else I can do."



ZOE CRUZ
THE BIGGEST WOMAN ON WALL STREET

In a Wall Street first, **Zoe Cruz** is poised to shatter the glass ceiling at Morgan Stanley, the U.S. investment bank that three years ago paid US$54 million to female employees to settle a discrimination lawsuit. Cruz, 52, has been identified as a successor to chief executive **John Mack** when his contract ends in 2010. Pressure was on to ensure a stable transition, given tumultuous markets and the recent ousters of Citigroup and Merrill Lynch chief executives. Currently a co-president, the Greek-born Cruz, or "Cruz missile" as she's known because of her energetic pursuit of both profits and her career, has been with the firm since graduating from Harvard Business School in 1982, surviving power struggles, and achieving record profits. The mother of three, who's married to Credit Suisse executive **Ernesto Cruz**, took home more than US$50 million in bonuses in the past two years, making her the richest woman working on Wall Street—and nobody's token.

CAMILLE HAYTON
LOVE STUMBLES ON A GIRL ON THE SUBWAY

It all started when **Camille Hayton**'s apartment burned down on Halloween. It was "traumatic and really awful," says Hayton, a New York City magazine intern from Australia. Planning to crash at a friend's, the 22-year-old hopped on a No. 5 subway train. That's when her luck changed. It was on that train that **Patrick Moberg**, 21, spotted her—and instantly fell for the girl with a flower in her hair. "I was just drawn to her," says Moberg, a Web designer. But before he mustered the courage to approach her, she disappeared into a crowd. So Moberg started a website, *www.nygirlofmydreams.com*, dedicated to finding her. He drew a picture of himself, labelled "not insane," and one of the girl with "rosy cheeks." The site became an instant online sensation, and a friend of Hayton recognized a sketch of her on the site. Moberg reached her within 48 hours, they went on a date, and clicked. The last posted message on the website said the new couple is going private, telling supporters: "Unlike all the romantic comedies and bad pop songs, you'll have to make up your own ending for this."



PRINCE
THE ROCK STAR GIVETH AND TAKETH AWAY

For all his much-publicized eccentricities, you used to be able to count on **Prince** to fight the music establishment. The singer is well-known for battling record labels, selling albums directly to his fans, and praising file-sharing sites. Then, last week, Prince turned against the very "music lovers" he's tried to protect. The funk star had his lawyers send cease-and-desist letters to three fan sites, asking them to remove all photos, album covers and other references to his image. After the site owners decided to fight back, forming a coalition called Prince Fans United and calling the threat an attempt "to stifle all critical commentary about Prince," the singer retaliated, posting a new song on his website called *PFUnk*, a reference to the fan coalition. In it, Prince sulks: "Cancer, chronic fatigue, ugly or just plain poor / I love all y'all, don't you ever mess with me no more." Prince, you're so damned strange.

MERYL STREEP
STAR POWER CAN'T HELP A KILLER SUBJECT

She's been popping up in some provocative films lately, playing everything from a CIA master mind in *Rendition* to a political journalist in *Lions for Lambs*. But no **Meryl Streep** picture is more controversial than *Dark Matter*—a sympathetic portrait of a Chinese student who commits mass murder. It was inspired by a real-life massacre in 1991 at the University of Iowa, where a Chinese physics student killed five people after being told his dissertation would not get a prize. Despite Streep's star power and strong reviews, U.S. distributors have shunned the film—chilled by last April's Virginia Tech massacre, in which Asian student **Cho Seung Hui** killed 32 students and professors. *Dark Matter*, which shows this week at Toronto's Reel Asian International Film Festival, features Streep as a China-loving patron enraptured with a cosmology student. New York opera director **Chen Shi-Zheng**, who wrote the role for Streep, says, "She worked for nothing, for the price of a bottle of wine at dinner."



ROB ASHE
END OF AN ERA FOR HOMEGROWN SOFTWARE

All along, the CEO of one of Canada's biggest independent software companies, Ottawa-based Cognos Inc., has been saying his firm could go it alone. While global technology giants IBM and SAP gobbled up independents—IBM has bought 22 firms since last year and was rumoured to be interested in Cognos—**Rob Ashe** maintained that clients prefer independent providers. But some sober reflection must have taken place. On Monday, IBM announced that Cognos had become acquisition No. 23 in a friendly US$5-billion takeover. Analysts suggest Ashe could hold out no longer against a rival view of the marketplace: that companies would rather buy tech from a few giant, all-purpose providers than numerous independents such as Cognos. Another Canadian company has bitten the dust.

JESSICA TRISKO
MOTHER EARTH'S HEAVENLY BODY

It isn't easy being green. McGill Ph.D. student **Jessica Trisko**'s high-level academic pursuits have suddenly got competition. When the 23-year-old Vancouver native was crowned Miss Earth 2007 at a Philippines beauty pageant Sunday, she committed herself to a string of international appearances where she'll campaign for environmental education. But that will conflict with her studies, so will there be enough time to crusade for the earth and still do academic research? "That's something I have to discuss with McGill," Trisko says. Early predictions had pegged Miss Venezuela to walk away with the crown after she won Best in Swimsuit. Indeed, despite Trisko's win, Canada still places 10th in global beauty-queen rankings. In first place is Venezuela. They might have a porky leader, but they're No. 1 in a tiara.



THE SULTAN OF BRUNEI
PAYBACK TIME

After 20 years of possibly the most expensive family squabbling ever, a court has settled a dispute between **Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah**, the ruler of the tiny oil-rich nation of Brunei, and his brother, **Prince Jefri**. The British Privy Council, the former protectorate's final court of appeal, ordered Jefri to hand back almost $6 billion in assets to the Bruneian treasury. He had served as national investment agency chief in the 1980s and '90s, and "special transfers" of US$15 billion went into his personal possession. With last week's decision, Jefri will have to sell off assets to repay his older brother. Now resident in London, Jefri, who has 17 children, has either disposed of or will be selling 2,000 luxury cars, several fire engines, an Airbus flight simulator, gold-plated toilet-paper holders, hundreds of tonnes of Italian marble, two luxury hotels—the New York Palace and the Bel-Air in Los Angeles—and St. John's Lodge, one of London's finest mansions.



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Living happily never after

After 60 years of dubious marriage, the Queen knows the show must go on BY ROSALIND MILES

fame

It ain't the brogues, it's the way she wears 'em. Sensible shoes, head scarf and all, Queen Elizabeth II is now officially one of the world's stunners, along with models and actresses a third her age. To the bemusement of fashionistas everywhere, the 81-year-old monarch appears this month on *Vogue*'s 50 strong "Definitive List of Today's Glamorous Women," praised for being "as glamorous in her brogues and head scarf in Balmoral as she is wearing the crown jewels." Her Madge, the negative reference point of female style and the unfading emptiness Diana, princess of Wales, betrayed her class by becoming "a fashion plate," and bluebloods won't consider it a compliment that the Queen of England (and Canada) is sharing column inches with women like Naomi "I'm Angry" Campbell and the inane Kate Moss, druggie Pete Doherty's on-off squeeze.

The Queen is genuinely baffled by such things. For her, clothes are a working uniform, hence the crown like hats, and that's all. Margaret Thatcher once contacted the palace before a formal engagement with the Queen, discreetly inquiring what styles or colours she should avoid. Do as you like, came the ringing response. Her Majesty never notices what anyone else wears.

And while the Queen may be on *Vogue*'s list, they won't be on hers. In the last couple of weeks, Elizabeth, head of the Commonwealth, has dealt with the collapse of any semblance of democracy in Pakistan as well as hosting the state visit of King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, leader of arguably one of the most odious regimes in the world. Last week, a major diary malfunction scheduled her to preside at the state opening of Parliament and at the reopening of London's St. Pancras station just hours apart on the same day, to inaugurate the last link in Britain's high-speed rail line to Europe. Frantic last-minute rejigging had to take place to allow the octogenarian time to change her state robes for a pink dress, but the cock-ups carried on: when she welcomed the participants, the band was playing so enthusiastically that no one could hear.

Then there are the endless irritations with her dysfunctional family. Last month, Prince Harry and a pal were shooting at Sandringham when observers claimed they saw a pair of rare and protected birds blasted out of the sky, a crime carrying a fine of $9,800 and six months' imprisonment. Interviewed by police, Harry denied all knowledge, and the investigation has folded for lack of evidence.

In another recent episode, two men were charged with attempting to blackmail "a junior royal" (meaning not the Queen's immediate family), unnamed in Britain due to a strict publication ban. They claimed to have videos showing the royal having sex with an aide as well as the aide snorting cocaine from a royally monogrammed envelope. The aide at the heart of the blackmail attempt also claimed he'd had sex with the royal's father. (In the junior royal's defence, he apparently called Scotland Yard after receiving the blackmail call, enabling them to set up a sting.)

Now a key event looms in her own life. In 1936, she became the first princess of Britain to become heiress presumptive to the throne through an abdication. Seventy years on, she is still making history: on Nov. 20, she'll become the first reigning British monarch to celebrate a diamond wedding anniversary.

Against a background of grinding postwar frump of former days, now so hot she's cool? Even the corgis are laughing fit to bust.

Did *Vogue* do it for the headlines? It's happened before. In Elizabeth's heyday, *Paris Match* regularly reported non existent pregnancies, followed by equally mythical miscarriages. But it's still a world-class compliment that others would kill for. Victoria Beckham or Paris Hilton would have their right arm torn off to make that list, as long as they could beat their rivals to death with the soggy end.

But the Queen doesn't care. Wallis Simpson and the duke of Windsor may have gained the world's admiration for their dress sense, but to the British upper crust, their immaculate style signalled nothing but inner



AFTER A FAIRY-TALE wedding to Prince Philip, the Queen settled into a life of duty, a tempestuous family, and whispers of infidelity

austerity, the 1947 wedding in Westminster Abbey is remembered as a fairy tale. The bride was blushing, the groom dashing, the setting fabulous and the dress divine. Then the couple returned from honeymoon and had to settle down to happy never after. Arrogant, boorish and often breathtakingly rude, Prince Philip was far from the tender, devoted husband who might have smoothed Elizabeth's path. For any man, the role of consort is a heroic challenge, one which only the sainted Albert, Queen Victoria's husband, pulled off.

Condemned to a lifetime in the ultimate non-job, Philip distracted himself with environmental causes, including serving for 35 years as a president of the World Wildlife Fund, an organization that attracts flaky conspiracy theorists as a dog does fleas. Was it the royal family's private intelligence agency, or a front for the CIA? A cover for the reintroduction of eugenics to promote racial purification under cover of environmentalism? Whatever. The nature loving activity allowed him to travel overseas without Elizabeth, sometimes on the royal yacht Britannia. Those trips remain the stuff of gossip, but few believe he was always alone.

Rumours of Philip's infidelities dog the couple to this day. An early conquest was said to be Elizabeth's cousin, the lithe and leggy young Princess Alexandra. Long legs and showgirls are the themes uniting the many other names linked with Philip, among them TV personalities Helene Cordet and Joanna Lumley; film stars Jane Russell and Shirley MacLaine, and women of his own circle like Sarah Ferguson's mother Susan Barrantes, and a more recent "friend," as she admits herself, the much younger duchess of Abercorn.

Whatever the Queen's thoughts, she could never and would never divorce. And Philip's life outside the marriage has had one upside for her: she has never had to carry him in the way that her mother had to sustain her insecure, neurasthenic husband all his life. The Queen does not have friends as others do, and Philip is the nearest thing to an old buddy she'll ever have. It's the same for him. Like a pair of ancient carriage horses, they've learned to pull together: the show must go on.

And now it's diamond time, and the anniversary snaps are on general release. "Sixty happy years," coo the newspapers. In truth, the stiff images show the pair struggling to smile, and in some, they don't even try. But actions speak louder than mug shots, and the Queen has shown she's minded to celebrate. Prince Charles is said to be honouring his parents with a private party at Clarence House, then Westminster Abbey will be packed with the great and the good for a "service of celebration" on Nov. 19. The royal couple will also take off for a private visit to Malta, scene of the early years of their married life where Philip was on active service as a young naval officer: the sun-soaked, carefree days before King George VI died in 1952.

After Malta, the Queen reportedly planned a party for Philip at the Ritz, her favourite London hotel, a big blowout entirely her own idea. It was said to be a spectacular mega bash with the theme of diamonds: magnums of champagne encrusted with Swarovski crystals, and glittering baubles on every table.

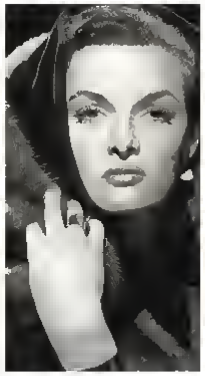
But the party's off. In what an unnamed Buckingham Palace insider told the *Mail on Sunday* was "a major diary oversight," royal aides blithely booked the hotel and organized the whole thing, only to find the Queen was already committed to a state visit to Uganda for a Commonwealth jamboree. Even the anniversary trip to Malta, her sentimental journey with Philip down memory lane, will be a niggardly 24 hours, before the flight onward for a heads-of government meeting. Scheduling conflicts have meant that putting on the Ritz is now postponed till March. Much as she loves the Commonwealth, the Queen is truly, madly, deeply, not amused.

But she'll soldier on. And what next for the woman many Christians believe is God's anointed, now anointed by *Vogue*? With son and heir Charles entering his 60th year this week, more and more will devolve upon him. His presence in Uganda for the Commonwealth meeting is a chance for a charm offensive in which the prince will woo the 53 member states, most notably Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as their future leader. Harry will always be Harry, but Prince William is shaping up, and in Kate Middleton he's found a woman who can hold her tongue, if he can hold on to her.

And whatever happens, the Queen has her memories. Persistent rumours link her with two other men besides Philip, her late racing manager the earl of Carnarvon, allegedly the father of Prince Andrew, and her favourite equerry Patrick Plunket, also now deceased, supposedly Prince Edward's sire. True or not, the stories say something human about the woman beneath the robes.

And she's still Queen, determined to continue as custodian of the most ancient monarchy in the modern world. If she has her way, the Saxe-Coburg Gotha-Mountbatten Windsors will be up there with the dynasties of Ancient Egypt and the Manchu. Forget *Vogue*. Nothing else counts. That's why she's Cool Britannia. Whatever happens to upset the throne of England, it won't be on her watch. M







HERS AND HIS The Queen with the earl of Carnarvon, Philip's alleged squeezes Russell and Cordet



STELLA MCCARTNEY

The fashion-designer daughter of ex-Beetle Paul McCartney is clearly fed up with her dad's ongoing divorce from Heather Mills, the former fashion model who lost a leg in a motorcycle accident. To show her displeasure, Stella's created a new fashion to be sold in stores: a sterling-silver miniature leg worn as a pendant. One newspaper has quipped that when the legs go on sale, Heather will be hopping mad.

GETTY IMAGES, CORBIS

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IT'S A FAVOURITE subject of santimantal songs, but many of us have naver triad a chestnut—certainly not a fresh American chestnut

Return of the nut of the living dead

Nearly extinct and all but forgotten, the local American chestnut is finally seeing a revival

BY PAMELA CUTHBERT • That old chestnut about you-know-what roasting on an open fire is a bit of nostalgic trickery. It celebrates a long lost food that was nearly wiped out by blight 100 years ago, and remains virtually unknown in North America to this day. Most of Canada's supply of sweet chestnuts has long been imported from Europe and China. But lately, after decades of trial and failure, a local version is making appearances at some farmers' markets and on restaurant menus. In Toronto, Niagara Street Café chef Mike Caballo braises veal cheeks in a chestnut sauce, the nuts poached in milk, puréed, then finished with onions and white wine. The season is fleeting, but Caballo looks for locally grown nuts. "It's really hard to find a good chestnut. They've got to be fresh."

Once, homegrown chestnuts were plentiful. The edible North American chestnut earned its title as King of the Forest both for status—reaching up to 120 ft. tall—and sheer domination: four billion trees covered the eastern hardwood forests from Florida up into Quebec, Nova Scotia and Ontario. Together with the common Asian and European varieties, this brown, hard-shelled nut—unusual for its high ratio of carbohydrates to oil—proved one of the great global providers, for millennia, of free food. The nuts were eaten fresh, dried, ground for flour, turned into soups and stuffings. On farms, pigs were let out of their pens in the fall to eat the surplus, adding a nutty flavour to the meat.

In parts of Europe, chestnuts were known as "the bread of the mountain," an image that still holds true in regions of France and Italy where the forests thrive; they remain the site of autumn festivals, where storage cellars are knee-deep in the precious nut.

It was at the Bronx Zoo in 1904 that the first signs of the blight in America were discovered. The disease had snuck in with cargo from Asia, where trees are immune. Forests were devastated and the nut's legacy nearly lost, surviving only in sentimental songs and pioneer-era poetry. Other varieties of the tree remain, but none produces an edible nut.

In Ontario, Niagara-on-the-Lake nut farmer Ernie Grimo, a local legend for his work in propagating native trees, recalls that it was an article about the endangered tree that inspired him to plant the species. It was the late '60s, he has since planted over 1,000 trees—each new one an improved hybrid—and over time lost most to the blight. "I've had some trees last 30 years, grow to 2½ feet across," he says. "Then suddenly they were dead." Efforts to contain the disease include, controversially, a project at Syracuse University to develop a genetically modified tree. "There's one GM tree in the ground," says Grimo. "I see that as the future."

The image of a lone, experimental tree is a long way from stories of the wild chestnut as a source of pennies from heaven. But it's just the latest step taken by the Canadian Chestnut Council and its U.S. counterpart to find a blight-resistant stock through cross-breeding with the Asian variety, known as an orchard chestnut. The plants are different—the Asian is more like a bush—and scientists are hoping to produce a lofty tree close to the original American. The fruit, fortunately, is comparable, says Grimo. "I wouldn't even know how to tell the difference between a hybrid and a North American chestnut."

At peak, Grimo has harvested about a tonne in a year on two dedicated acres. As president of the Northern Nut Growers Association, he estimates 15 to 30 tonnes of chestnuts are grown in Niagara, still far from what's needed to supply supermarkets. Marc Picone, a chef and teacher at Niagara Culinary Institute, gets local chestnuts from three suppliers: Grimo and two "eccentric producers" he won't name. As with wild mushroom foragers, such resources are well-kept secrets. He uses the nut for everything from soups to gelato. "I make a chestnut bisque [see recipe at *Macleans.ca*]," he says. He also likes a "vegetable mash" made with parsnips, shallots and Yukon gold potatoes. "The chestnuts bring a depth of flavour and a rich colour." He suggests pairing the dish with a roast of wild boar. And for dessert, "a chestnut purée, flavoured with orange, vanilla pod and cloves, matched with some Monforte dairy crème fraiche."

Picone's and Grimo's Italian heritage meant an early introduction to the nut. "Many Canadians have never eaten a chestnut and don't know how to use them," says Grimo. "People of European and Chinese extraction are usually the ones who will purchase them. For many others, it is a novelty to try." M



TODAY'S SPECIAL. .WEIGHT-LOSS LOLLIPOPS

Markated as "Power Pops," thesa waight-loss suckars contain *hoodia gordonii*, a plant that originatad in Africa and has been touted as a potent appetite suppressant. They're available in eight flavours and each contains 28 calories. Hoodia lollipops hava aven gained a dubious andorsament in tha form of naws raports that Britnay Spears is trying to burn off her recently acquired blubbar by using Hoodia 'pops.

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AMONG THE RECENT avalanche of anti-war movies: *Redacted* (above). Then there's *Lions for Lambs*, *In the Valley of Elah*, *Rendition*...



NO WONDER when Mr. and Mrs. America go to the multiplex they opt for *Fred Claus*

Hollywood shoots itself in the foot

Its anti-war films may be aimed at Bush, but what they're really destroying is storytelling

BY MARK STEYN

A few months back, Peter Berg attended a test screening of his new film in California—not Malibu or Beverly Hills, but out in farm country. *The Kingdom* is about FBI agents (Jamie Foxx, Jennifer Garner, etc.) investigating a terrorist attack on Americans in Saudi Arabia, and finally, about two hours in, the star talent gets to kill a bunch of jihadists. As *Entertainment Weekly* described it, "the packed house went completely bonkers, erupting in cheers"—and poor old Berg was distraught. "I was nervous it would be perceived as a jingoistic piece of propaganda, which I certainly didn't intend," the director agonized. "I thought, 'Am I experiencing American bloodlust?'"

You really want an answer to that? Okay, here goes. No. It's not American bloodlust. As they say on Broadway, the audience doesn't lie, and, when they're trying to tell you something, it helps not to cover your ears. For all Mr. Berg's pains, *The Kingdom* was dismissed by the *New York Times* as "*Syriana* for dummies." That's to say, instead of explicitly fingering sinister Americans as the bad guys, it merely posited a kind of dull pro forma equivalence between the Yanks and the terrorists. It came out, oh, a week and a half ago and it's already forgotten in the avalanche of anti-war movies released since. There's *Lions for Lambs* and *In the Valley of Elah* and *Redacted*—no, wait, *Rendition*. No, my mistake. There's a *Redacted* and a *Rendition*—one's about American soldiers being rapists, one's about American intelligence officials being torturers. Every Friday night at the multiplex, Mr. and Mrs. America are saying, "Hmm, shall we see the movie where our boys are the torturers? Or the one where our boys are the rapists? How about the film where the heroic soldier refuses to fight? Or the one where he does fight and the army covers up the truth about his death?" And then they go see *Fred Claus*, which pulled in three times as much money as Robert Redford's *Lions for Lambs* on both films' opening weekend.

As Roger L. Simon of Pajamas Media (and a screenwriter himself) put it: "Hicks Nix Peaceniks' Pix." These films tank at the box office, and disappear from the shopping malls before you've had time to refill your popcorn, and next Friday there's a brand new critically acclaimed anti-war movie in its place. The faster they fall, the more Hollywood is convinced of the "courage" of its "dissent." Tired of hailing pictures no one goes to see, the *New York Times*' film critic A. O. Scott now routinely pre-empts accusations that the dreamily consistent world view of these works is "anti-American." Of *Rendition*, he wrote:

"It has timely issues and serious ambitions, and it also has movie stars—Reese Witherspoon with a huge pregnant belly! Meryl Streep with a Southern accent! Jake Gyllenhaal with sad, sleepy eyes!—as well as young romance, breathless chases and violent explosions. Honestly, what could be more American than that?"

Mr. Scott trembles, albeit accidentally, on the brink of a great insight here. Hollywood assumes that if you have enough beautiful stars making out and getting shot at and running up stairwells and diving through windows and outrunning the fireball, that that is sufficiently "American" (as Mr. Scott puts it) that the absence of a heroic narrative won't matter. The movies have divorced the form from the content, or, if you prefer, the telling from the story. You see it most obviously in almost any remake. Take the old *3 10 to Yuma*, which chugged in last month, remodelled for the 21st century. The 1957 western was nobody's idea of a masterpiece but it had a moral seriousness. Van Heflin's broke and he'll lose his farm so he agrees to escort a violent felon to meet the train that will take him to prison. He's doing it for the 200 bucks—or so he thinks. But along the way he comes to understand that he's doing it for rather more. When a disaffected sibling of one of Glenn Ford's victims tries to kill him, Heflin prevents him—because, in a civilization as fragile as the young West, he thinks it important that it be the law that dispatches the prisoner.

All that's gone in the new version, with Christian Bale in the Heflin role and Russell Crowe as Ford. For Bale, it's just about the money. Now the guy who tries to intercept the prisoner en route is not a vigilante who wishes to shortcut the law but the law itself—a rogue cop as brutal as the man he pursues. Oh, and the 2007 *3 10* also gives us a Pinkerton agent who enjoys killing Injuns just for kicks, which even Russell Crowe primly draws the line at. There's no moral universe, just a rotten state in which wickedness and violence are tempered only by degrees of politically correct squeamishness.

A decade or so back at some confab at Paramount, I met Lionel Chetwynd, a writer and producer who was raised in Montreal and in his pre-showbiz days served in the Black Watch (the Royal Highland Regiment), in the course of which he met several Canadian veterans of the Dieppe raid. After recounting their story one night at a party in Malibu, he was invited to pitch it as a project to some network honcho. He laid out the bones of the plot—a suicidal dry run for D-Day against a heavily fortified European port.

"Who's the enemy?" asked the network exec.

"Hitler," said Chetwynd. "The Nazis."

"No, no, no," she pressed. "Who's the *real* enemy?"

"It was the first time I realized," Chetwynd later told Cathy Seipp, "that for many people, evil such as Nazism can only be understood as a cipher for evil within ourselves." Who's the real enemy? Ike. Churchill. The Imperial General Staff. Us.

Ed Driscoll, who's been scanning the shrivelled horizon of an ever more parochial movie industry for some years now, likes to cite that anecdote as a kind of shorthand for the Hollywood aesthetic: who's the real enemy? In this season's crop of movies, the enemy is never al-Qaeda, the Taliban, the Baathists. Sure, they're out there somewhere at the fringe of events, but they're just Hitchcock's MacGuffin—the pretext for the real story. And that means the heroes can never be, say, a bunch of U.S. Marines who leap from their Humvee on the outskirts of Ramadi because something goofy's going on. No, the heroes have to be dogged journalists or crusading lawyers or obstinate wives who refuse to swallow the official explanation. And the real enemy are renegade government officials, covert agencies, right-wing senators, Halliburton. And, unsurprisingly, despite the unpopularity of Bush and the Iraq war, the public simply doesn't buy the idea of their country as a 24/7 cover-up for rape, torture and war profiteering.

Which brings us back to those yelps of delight when the Americans clobbered the jihadists two hours into the test screening of *The Kingdom*. Pace Peter Berg, it's not "bloodlust" if you want that, you're best to stick to the amoral fetishization of violence in the *3 10* remake. What the preview crowd were telling Berg is, hey, we'd love to see one film where our guys kick serious terrorist butt—and there isn't one, and there hasn't been one for six long years. If you buy the argument that Hollywood's anti-Americanism derives necessarily from its role as purveyor of entertainment to the entire planet, well, so what? Terrorists killed a bunch of people in Bali, Madrid, London. Alongside the kick-ass Americans, sign Hugh Grant as an MI6 agent and Penelope Cruz as his Spanish dolly bird and Cate Blanchett as the head of the Australian SAS and Russell Crowe as her Kiwi bit of rough. As long as the enemy's the enemy, and not a Dick Cheney subsidiary. It's fine to show the American war machine warts and all, but Hollywood is showing only the warts—and, even if you stick perky little Reese Witherspoon in the middle of it, it's still just another pustulating carbuncle.

And, if Hollywood made just one war film where America gets to be—what's the phrase?—the good guys, that would be swell not just for blood-lusting redneck warmongers but also for Hollywood liberals. After all, one reason why *Rendition* and *Lions for Lambs* and Co. bomb on a weekly basis is because it's hard to have a functioning counterculture when the culture you were countering no longer exists.

In the 2005 film *The Constant Gardener*, there's a shot where Ralph Fiennes is thinking about his late wife, a passionate anti-globalization activist whose death may or may not be connected with a pharmaceutical scandal she was about to expose. Fiennes is doing his usual thing, staring elliptically into the distance damp-eyed, when the camera pulls back to show us where he is: on the street, outside the corporate HQ of a mega multinational pharmaceutical company, its bland anonymous corporate sheen dwarfing him like the stick insect he is. Message: the problems of two little people don't amount to a hill of beans next to the Globocorp Himalayan vastness of Pills R Us.

The Constant Gardener was distributed by Universal Pictures. Are they some sort of mom 'n' pop operation out of a converted barn at the back of the hemp commune in Vermont? Or do they perchance have a big office, too? And if you framed it'l Ralph Fiennes outside the corporate HQ of Universal might he not look even smaller and more insignificant? Big Hollywood is, after all, as big as Big Pharma. That's why it can afford to launder all the red ink bled by its anti war movies through the great churning trough of DVD revenue and cable licensing and overseas sales to Turkmenistani TV networks.

But at some point reality will reassert itself. Hollywood, for complex psychological reasons, is waging war not on Bush and Cheney but on its core business, on the very art of storytelling. If you were of a conspiratorial bent, you might make a thriller about it. M

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MACLEAN'S
BESTSELLERS
COMPILED BY BRIAN BETHUNE

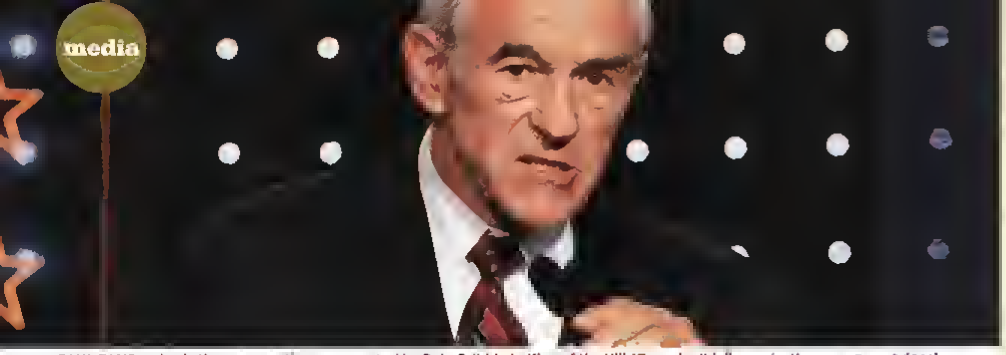
Fiction

1	**LATE NIGHTS ON AIR** by Elizabeth Hay	1 (8)
2	**THE ASSASSIN'S SONG** by M. G. Vassanji	3 (11)
3	**THE FROZEN THAMES** by Helen Humphreys	(1)
4	**OCTOBER** by Richard B. Wright	4 (8)
5	**DIVISADERO** by Michael Ondaatje	2 (28)
6	**A THOUSAND SPLENDID SUNS** by Khaled Hosseini	5 (22)
7	**EFFIGY** by Alissa York	8 (2)
8	**WORLD WITHOUT END** by Ken Follett	6 (5)
8	**RUN** by Ann Patchett	10 (7)
10	**DIARY OF A BAD YEAR** by J.M. Coetzee	(1)

Non-fiction

1	**MUSICOPHILIA** by Oliver Sacks	1 (4)
2	**CLAPTON** by Eric Clapton	4 (5)
3	**THE SHOCK DOCTRINE** by Naomi Klein	2 (10)
4	**THE AGE OF TURBULENCE** by Alan Greenspan	3 (8)
5	**I AM AMERICA (AND SO CAN YOU!)** by Stephen Colbert	8 (5)
6	**THE DIRT ON CLEAN** by Katherine Ashenburg	(1)
7	**THE ELEPHANT, THE TIGER AND THE CELL PHONE** by Shashi Tharoor	(1)
8	**BLACK MASS** by John Gray	(1)
9	**THE UNEXPECTED WAR** by Jan de Gross Stein and Eugene Lang	6 (4)
10	**MY YEARS AS PRIME MINISTER** by Jean Chrétien	7 (5)

LAST WEEK (WEEKS ON LIST)



PAUL FANS embody the conservetism represented by Dale Gribble in *King of the Hill*: 'Guns don't kill people, the government does'

If you think Bush is a communist...

Online fans are raising millions for anti-state Republican presidential candidate Ron Paul

BY JAIME J. WEINMAN • Who's the U.S. presidential candidate for the people who think George W. Bush is a communist? And why are people giving him money? Ron Paul, a Texas congressman who's running for the Republican nomination, gained attention in the debates for being the only anti-war, anti-government guy on the stage. He's a marginal candidate whose views (including support of the gold standard and opposition to U.S. foreign policy belligerence) are unpopular in his party, he has little chance of winning even a single state primary. Candidates like that are usually ignored in the media, but Paul has, almost by accident, raised a surprising amount of funds. In the cash-driven U.S. campaign system, that entitles him to respect.

Paul earned the most money, and therefore the most respect, on Monday, Nov. 5, when the Paul fan site *thisnovember5th.com* had a "money bomb" event to tie in with Guy Fawkes' Night (forgetting that Fawkes's attempted bombing of the British Parliament wasn't a good thing). The promotion, inspired by the movie *V For Vendetta*, caused over $4 million to be donated to Paul's campaign, a record for online fundraising. But *thisnovember5th.com* isn't run by Paul, who has the kind of lacklustre campaign operation you'd expect from a fringe candidate. It's people outside his campaign, on private websites, who are turning Paul into a fundraising juggernaut almost against his will.

Where is the money coming from? Mostly from young, libertarian-leaning people who are angry at both U.S. parties. Steven Hertzberg and Dan Butler, who run the fan site *Ronpaulonline.com*, gave *Maclean's* a list of the states with the most Paul-related website traffic. It's headed by California, whose Silicon Valley technocrats see Paul as a potential saviour. Hertzberg and Butler add that many Paul fans can be found in Canada, where almost nobody's eligible to vote for him. "If Canada were a U.S. state, then it would place third, just above Florida." You don't have to be American to be part of the Ron Paul cult, you just have to be fed up with U.S. politics.

What especially irks the Paul fans is that all of the mainstream candidates have an expansive view of government power. Rudy Giuliani, the Republican front-runner, boasts of using government to improve citizens' behaviour when he was mayor of New York, and he has a reputation for authoritarianism, especially after he tried to extend his mayorship beyond his official term limits (claiming his successor might not be equally able to deal with the aftermath of 9/11). And all of the Republican candidates other than Paul are supportive of the war in Iraq, and war is as big a government program as you can have.

These are normal conservative views in America and around the world, "conservative" now implies hawkishness instead of small government. In the U.S., there has always been a strain of anti-state conservatism, of Paul's belief that bureaucracy and war are subverting the U.S. constitution. Hertzberg and Butler, who say that liberty-crushing organizations "have shaped U.S. foreign policy since 1921," call Paul "the only candidate currently running who is not a part of these organizations nor supports their agenda." Paul fans embody the conservatism represented in pop culture by Dale Gribble from *King of the Hill* ("Guns don't kill people, the government does"), and apart from Paul, there's no one else in the race who shares their views.

The question these fans haven't really dealt with much is whether Paul lives up to their image of him. Though Paul rails against government spending, the *Houston Chronicle* recently pointed out that he brings in pork barrel projects just like any other congressman. Paul "leads the Houston-area delegation in the number of earmarks, or special funding requests, that he is seeking for his district." His unorthodox record is tolerated by the Republicans in part because he mostly breaks with the party when his vote doesn't matter, while often voting with party leaders when they need his vote to pass something.

Paul's own fans are noticing that their candidate doesn't match their own dynamism. Hertzberg and Butler express frustration that Paul seems incapable of being as proactive as his fans: "we are seeing the grassroots push a candidate upward with little real assistance from the candidate's own organization." But though Paul isn't doing everything his fans expect of him, he's their only outlet for their passionate distrust of government. And in U.S. politics, the way you show your passionate political beliefs is by donating money. M



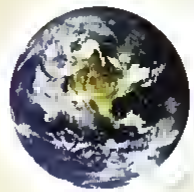
STOP THE PRESSES — THE PLIGHT OF MALE BEES

"A television review last Saturday about *Silence of the Bees*, on PBS, missteted the cause of deeth of e honeybee colony's meles and also included imprecise references to other espects of hive life. The meles, celled drones, die after meting or ere driven out of the colony by the femeles end die of exposure, they ere not worked to deeth. (The femeles do the work.)"—The *New York Times*, as reported in *regrettheerror.com*

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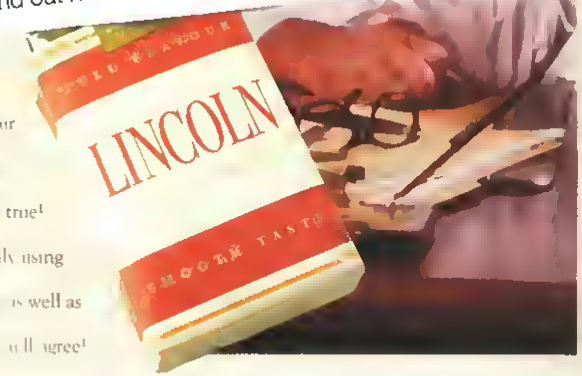
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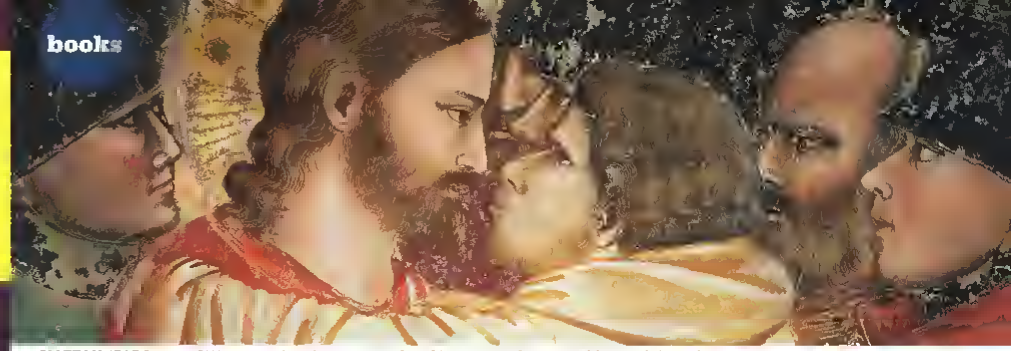
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GIOTTO'S 1305 fresco of Western culture's most notorious kiss: a new take on an old gospel shows how eminent scholars went off the rails

The apostle who haunts us still

The Gospel of Judas was to make a hero of Christ's betrayer; a closer look begs to differ

BY BRIAN BETHUNE • April DeConick is a Biblical scholar, an expert in Gnostic Christianity and the ancient Egyptian language known as Coptic. Someone, in short, who doesn't expect the latest developments in her field to become headline news. "But everybody I run into knows about the Gospel of Judas," DeConick says from her office at Rice University in Houston, "and the one thing they know is that Judas is a hero in it." Too bad, then, as DeConick persuasively argues in her elegant little book, *The Thirteenth Apostle. What the Gospel of Judas Really Says* (Continuum), that it isn't true.

The manuscript containing the lost gospel, a fourth century Coptic copy of a Greek original, was probably in pretty good shape when looters found it in an Egyptian tomb in the 1970s. Since then, however, it's had a hard time on the antiquities market: parts were torn out for quick sales, and it became dangerously brittle after a stay in a freezer. By the time people more interested in what it said than what it was worth got hold of it, scholars had to use tweezers to piece together wide swaths of text. At least 15 per cent of the manuscript crumbled into dust and is lost forever. Translation wasn't going to be easy.

DeConick was as excited as anyone in April 2006 to hear the news that a *National Geographic* team of experts had prepared a translation. Media around the world trumpeted the essence: Judas was Jesus's close friend and collaborator, the only apostle with the understanding and courage to do the unthinkable but necessary task of betraying Christ. Purely for her own enjoyment, DeConick downloaded the Coptic transcription from the *NG* website and went to work on it herself.

It wasn't long before there was no joy at all in the effort. *NG*'s provocative gospel turns on a handful of phrases, all of which DeConick translated differently. Judas, for example, was not a "spirit" destined for heaven, as *NG* would have it, but a "demon" with a far different ultimate destination. Judas would "exceed" the other apostles, DeConick agreed, although not in his reward, as *NG* states, but in the wickedness of his actions. Judas, in fact, was as evil as ever. The Gnostic Christians who wrote the gospel were bitterly opposed to what was already emerging as a core theological concept in Christianity's dominant tradition: the doctrine of the Atonement, whereby God so loved the world he gave his only son for its redemption. To the Gnostics the idea was repellent, no better than child sacrifice. It certainly could not have been God's plan. Judas could only have been acting for the forces of evil.

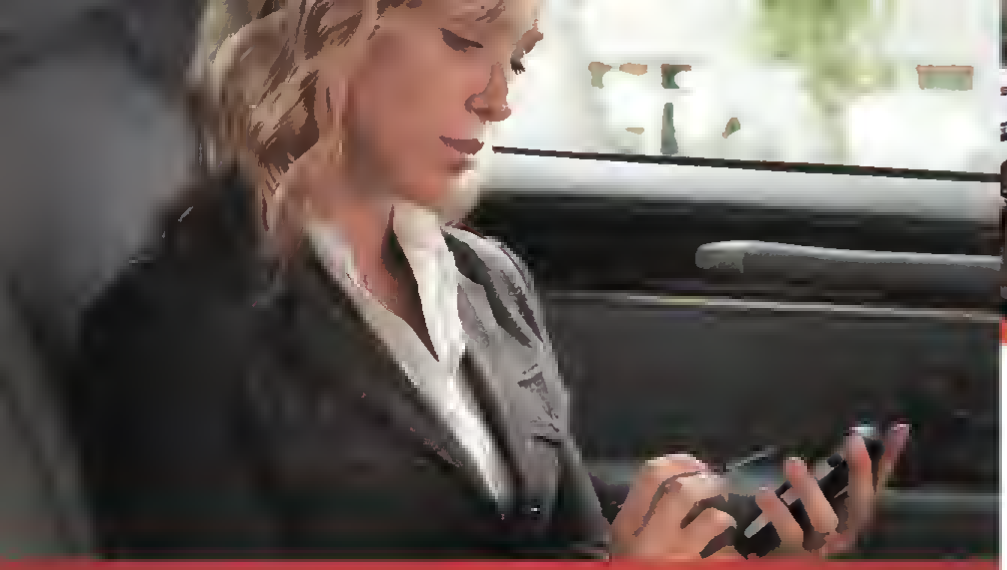
"I didn't want to write this book," DeConick says. "Some of the *NG* people are personal friends of mine. But when I mentioned my concerns to another expert, his reaction was 'Oh my God, me too!' The more I talked about what I was doing, I found all this underground support." So how did the eminent scholars on the *NG* team go off the rails?

The primary reason was commercial. "I know for a fact," DeConick says, "that the *NG* team was rushed to publication, that they weren't finished the transcription [transferring the ancient script to modern alphabet] before they began the translation." *National Geographic* wanted to sell books and videos, and April, as rueful Christians know full well, is the season not just of Christ's resurrection but one of the two times of the year when mass media will make room for religious topics. So *NG* kept the manuscript restricted to its team, all of whom signed non-disclosure agreements. "*NG* still hasn't posted large enough photos of the manuscript for others to evaluate the transcription, and that upsets me more than anything," says DeConick. "We already know of two errors in it. If they had posted the materials where everyone could see them and make suggestions..." But that would have lessened the publicity bounce and the commercial possibilities.

That's the practical explanation, but DeConick believes it isn't the only one. When she discussed her findings at a conference, one colleague responded, "I don't see why Judas can't be good; we need a good Judas." DeConick says, "I stopped in my tracks. I realized that people were reading Judas positively because they wanted, however unconsciously, a good Judas. Everything that could be tweaked in that direction was. I think our communal psyche, knowing how Judas the betrayer always functioned as a justification for atrocities against Jews, wants to *explain* him, wants to take the guilt of Christ's death from him." Even if we have to make it up. M

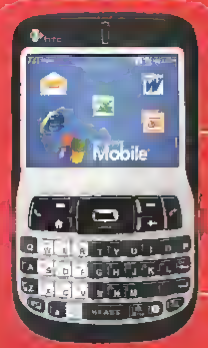


FINALLY, A BOOK ABOUT... MAD BRITONS ABROAD
Author and illustrator have rarely maldad in so satisfyingly savage a pairing since Hunter S. Thompson linked up with Ralph Steadman. In *Psychogeography* (Raincoast), a collection of their travel columns from the *Independant* newspaper, Steadman matches wall with Will Self. Their procedure is simple: Self writes something—always acidulous and usually funny—about a place, Steadman matches that with a nota-parfact drawing. Marvellous



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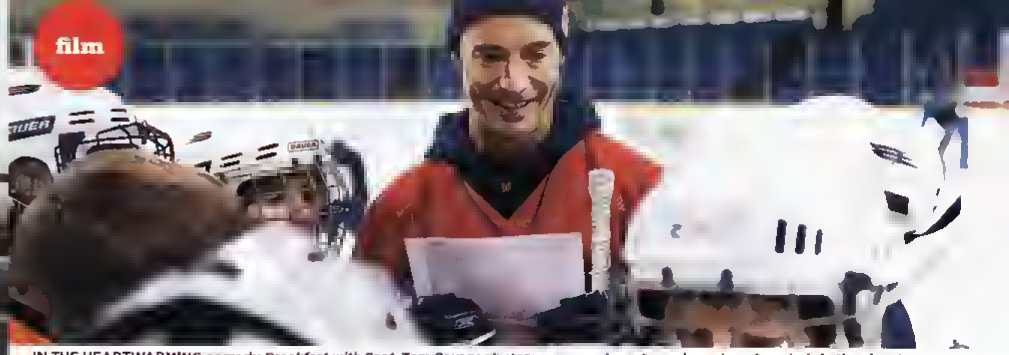
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IN THE HEARTWARMING comedy *Breakfast with Scot*, Tom Cavanagh stars as a pro player turnad sportscastar who's in the closet

A gay hockey dad breaks the ice

Family values take a queer bounce in a movie championed by the NHL and the Maple Leafs

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • Canadian director Laurie Lynd swears he wasn't trying to stir up controversy. He was just making a family comedy about hockey and homosexuality—the story of a gay ex-NHL star who has a hard time staying in the closet after he and his boyfriend become guardians to a flaming 11-year-old sissy. It could've been just another rmall Canadian movie that would have come and gone without a ripple. But when the NHL and the Toronto Maple Leafs let the filmmakers use their logos onscreen, a new statistic went into the record books: it was the first time in North America that a major league organization had lent its trademark to a film with a homosexual theme. The news caromed from *Sports Illustrated* to the *New York Times*, as anti-gay activists cried misconduct—apoplectic over the double whammy of the NHL backing a film that celebrates gay parenting *and* a gay child. Even before it was shot, San Diego blogger James Hartline branded it "one of the most obscene betrayals of children in motion picture history."

Lynd himself was surprised by the NHL's endorsement. "It is extraordinary that they gave us permission to use their logos," he says. "I still can't quite believe it. I knew it was a big deal but I didn't realize quite what a big deal it was until the controversy sprung up." Getting the rights, however, "was incredibly easy," adds the director, "which is amazing, because they get dozens of scripts a week and rarely give permission." In fact, a much larger Canadian movie, last year's *Bon Cop, Bad Cop*, failed in its bid to use NHL logos.

Loosely based on a novel by American author Michael Downing, *Breakfast With Scot* is the story of a very straight gay couple—Eric (Tom Cavanagh) and Sam (Ben Shenkman)—who get temporary custody of Scot (Noah Bernett), a prepubescent queen with a passion for musicals, silk scarves and gardenia-scented hand cream. The boy is an embarassment to the closeted Eric, a former Maple Leaf enforcer who's now a tough-talking, motor mouthed sportscaster after being forced out of the game by an injury. Determined to toughen up his new charge, Eric pushes the figure-skating Scot into peewee hockey, then agrees to help coach the team. The conflict comes to a head with a contrived clash on the ice. But as parenting teaches Eric to confront his own hypocrisy, the film scores an offside victory for modern family values.

The Ottawa-born Cavanagh—best known for starring in the NBC sitcom *Ed*, along with roles in *Love Monkey*, *Scrubs* and a series of Labatt's beer commercials—is the spark plug in this cute comedy, which puts a novel spin on a familiar formula. "It's not an overly inventive conceit—the idea of a wayward child not having parents and looking for love," Cavanagh conceded in an interview last week. "But a gay couple who inherit a flamboyant child—I hadn't heard that one. I thought it was a nice twist."

At least one critic has carped that Cavanagh and Shenkman played it too straight. "But that's the point," says Cavanagh. "These guys go out of their way not to draw attention to their lifestyle. Ben and I were careful never to venture into the land of stereotype. There are a couple of scenes where we're kissing in bed, but we wanted them to be normal. I don't know how many people in the gay community came up to us and said, 'Thanks for an honest and accurate portrayal.'"

Even so, the NHL endorsing a movie about a gay Maple Leaf does seem groundbreaking—especially when you consider that not a single major league athlete in North America has come out the closet while still on the roster. "It was a very forward move," says Cavanagh. "Having those people weigh in and say this is a story worth telling does almost as much as the story itself."

NHL spokesperson Bernadette Mansur doesn't see what all the fuss is about. "We absolutely do not feel it was a groundbreaking decision," she told *Maclean's*, "because this is not a movie that's making any statement about homosexuality. This is the story of a modern family raising a very precocious child." Yet according to Lynd, the child is beyond precocious—"I absolutely thunk of him as a gay kid." When the comment is relayed to Mansur, she's taken aback. "I've never heard the director say that. We are very comfortable with this movie. We've seen it. It's a very endearing story, well told."

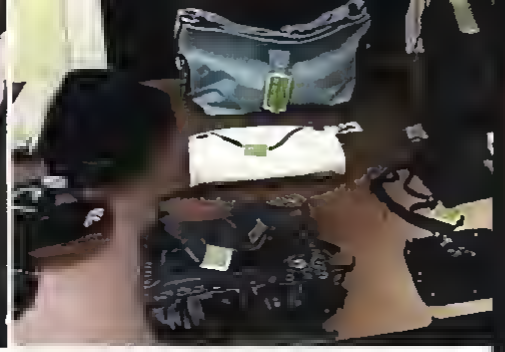
Quite the blurb. But to hear the NHL pretend they've endorsed a film no more provocative than *The Mighty Ducks*, it's still hard to say if its closet is half open or half shut. M



WE'RE STALKING... ELLEN DEGENERES

Fresh off her adopted-dog-giveaway uproar, the talk show queen sparked fresh controversy last week when she crossed the picket lines of striking television writers. Despite her on-air insistence that she loves her writers and supports their cause, for many the picket-crossing was an opportunity to grind axes. Said one TV insider of Ellen's show: "This is the only thing keeping her from a lifetime of touring college campuses."





WINONA RYDER was arrested for shoplifting in 2001: 'We have people showing up in limousines,' says the founder of a support group

My wife can't stop stealing things

A lack of treatment options means many shoplifters end up at Alcoholics Anonymous

BY JULIA MCINNELL • What if you love your wife dearly and there is only one problem She sometimes steals credit cards Money disappears from friends' wallets, and you have to ask yourself, "Did my wife do that? Are the police going to come?"

Jim and Danielle (not their real names) live in Calgary Jim, 45, is the director of an addiction treatment centre Danielle, 34 and seven months pregnant with their first child, used to teach in an elementary school but is now under house arrest for shoplifting She doesn't trust herself to go to the mall alone "I'll always be a thief," she said recently "Two hours from now, I could be stealing" Jim says one of the most frustrating aspects is the lack of treatment available to shoplifters "There aren't a whole lot of people who specialize in this Here I am, the director of a treatment centre, and I have no contacts, no networking."

After Danielle's second arrest, in October 2006, her husband told her, "I'm not going to come and get you" when she called him from prison at 2 a m She spent the night in a cell "I was scared I'd lost my marriage" Suicidal and desperate, she got online and typed in the words "theft" and "shoplifting" Up popped an organization in Detroit called CASA (Cleptomaniacs and Shoplifters Anonymous), run by a 42-year-old lawyer, Terrence Shulman, himself a "recovering shoplifter" with a criminal record When Danielle reached Shulman by phone, he put her in touch with CASA's online support group Danielle credits Shulman for saving her life that first time around, although online support wasn't enough to keep her clean indefinitely, she says "I needed to know there was someone I could talk to personally."

Danielle's and Shulman's stories are remarkably similar Fifteen years ago, when he couldn't find a shoplifters' support group in Detroit (before forming his own), Shulman showed up at a local support meeting for alcoholics and drug addicts "It finally came my time to share and I said, 'I don't know if this group is for me I have a problem that I feel is an addiction I need help I'm a shoplifter' You should've seen the looks on people's faces, but no one asked me to leave," he says, "and gradually they took me under their wing."

Danielle did the same a year ago in Calgary, except the group she walked into was Alcoholics Anonymous "Just replace alcohol with stealing," says Danielle, "and all the feelings are the same The powerlessness, the shame, the remorse, the self bargaining 'I'll never do it again' I'm just like them"

In Manhattan, shoplifters meet on Wednesday nights in St Vincent's Hospital "You have no idea," says the group's founder, how widespread the problem is "Black, white, rich, poor We have people showing up in limousines with drivers" One man in the group used to drive his truck to building supply stores and steal straight from the loading dock

In Canada, a 12-step Shophifters Anonymous group meets every Monday night in New Westminster, a suburb of Vancouver Betty (Russell) Smayda, a nursing assistant, co-founded the program with "Michelle," a divorced 55-year-old churchgoer It wasn't until after her divorce and her kids were grown that Michelle began to steal incessantly "Microwave ovens, vacuum cleaners, television sets," she says "I didn't sleep well because I always felt I ought to be out stealing" Michelle's MO was to buy inexpensive, bulky items like toilet paper Once the cashier put a sticker on the item as proof of purchase, Michelle would peel it off, return to the store, stick it on an expensive item, and walk out the door

Entitlement is one of the reasons people shoplift, says Smayda "There was one gentleman, he didn't want to wait in line. He's important! Sometimes it's a problem with people who've been given a lot of material things in childhood It's been ingrained in their character 'I want. I want. I get. I get!'"

There are about 15 people in Michelle's group "This time of year we have more because it's getting close to Christmas" Before starting SA, Michelle tried every trick in the book to stop She shopped with friends She left her jacket and shopping bags at home She wore an elastic band and snapped it when she felt the urge to steal Nothing worked In fact, once when she brought her older sister shopping, they both got arrested

Shulman says it's about reclaiming power "By taking something, you feel like you've tipped the scale back in balance It's sick, sick, sick" M



MOST IMPROVED BEAR GRYLLS

Undaunted by criticism he'd faked his suffering in the wild last season, the star of Discovery Channel's *Men vs. Wild* has returned to the air Bear allegedly slept in luxury hotels instead of being stranded on a desert island, the way the show portrayed him In his first new show of the season, he parachutes into the Sahara Desert, and keeps cool by wrapping a shirt soaked in his own urine around his head Perhaps it's better he stays out of luxury hotels

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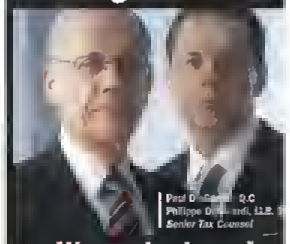
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Let's look at it from my point of view, Canada



SCOTT FESCHUK

Brian Mulroney
Memoirs 1939-1993
Now with a New Epilogue!

Well, [expletive deleted] me. A guy—a modest Canadian icon of humble, small-town origins—goes to some serious effort, devotes years of his time, writes a provocative and comprehensive chronicle of his tenure as prime minister of Canada, and what? All of a sudden it's "Schreiber" this and "impartial review" that. All of a sudden every piss I took from 1992 to 1994 is front-page news. All of a sudden people on the street—fully almost one-fifth of whom supported me when I left office—are looking at me like I just whipped out my [expletive deleted] in the middle of the Library of Parliament. This is devastating, overwhelming, apocalyptic—the ultimate triumph of media bias and me-based persecution. Ben's so upset, one of his hairs almost moved. And poor Mila—I don't envy her having to write this year's Mulroney family Christmas letter. Are you happy now, [expletive deleted]?

Free trade agreement, anyone? Helping to end apartheid, anyone? Greenest prime minister ever? No, of course not. *Of course not.* The festering [expletive and crude anatomical diagram deleted] of the press gallery would much rather manufacture a ruckus about clandestine meetings and large sums of mysterious cash. I'm telling you—it's getting so that a former prime minister can't go into a hotel room with a well-connected businessman on three separate occasions and each time get handed an envelope stuffed with $100,000 for some reason without somebody making a case out of it! Now I know how Gandhi felt.

Let's step back and examine this from an objective point of view, shall we? Trudeau was a fascist, Campbell squandered the healthy and robust party I bequeathed her, and Chrétien couldn't form a grammatically correct sentence if you gave him a dictionary, two weeks' notice and Margaret Atwood's phone number—but by all means let's devote the sum of the efforts of our nation's historians to dwelling on whether I did enough to promote Karlheinz Schreiber's [expletive deleted] pasta business. Let me meet you halfway, Karl: as I write this epilogue, I'm dressed as a rotini. Mmmm, *I'm delicious!* Are we even now, Karl? Are we even now?

Bloody [several expletives and two paragraphs of borderline incomprehensible typing about gnocchi deleted].

But at least Trudeau was a *loyal* fascist. Stephen Harper, on the other hand... I took you under my wing, Stephen, nurtured you, imparted wisdom, gave guidance, shaped you, basically picked you up and of my own benevolence personally plunked you in the office of the prime minister (you're welcome)—and now to be betrayed, like mighty Caesar cut down by a pudgy Brutus who was always picked last at sports. Congratulations, Stephen. You've managed to make Peter C. Newman seem like less of a dick.

Here, do something for me, gentle reader. Put your thumb down to mark this page, then flip the book shut. Look at me there on the front cover—big smile, white shirt... whoa, is that Fabio?! Don't I look happy and rehabilitated in the eyes of history? And now this Pakistan is descending into chaos and Iran's developing a nuclear arsenal, but by all means let's obsess over the meaningless difference between me saying I'd only ever met Schreiber for coffee "once or twice" and the reality that I'd met Schreiber for "cash-stuffed manila envelope" three times. Tomato, to mah-to.

My fellow Canadians, I encourage you to look at things from my perspective. From my perspective, I am awesome. Let's not argue over who gave $300,000 to whom, and whether the money was reported as income in the year in which it was received, and whether anyone would believe me if, say, I were to claim I was just testing Revenue Canada—*it was just a test!*—and how relieved I was when the test was concluded and I was able, much later, to report and pay tax on that $300,000. Which I totally intended to do the whole time, so far as you know.

If this smear has taught me anything, it's that this generation of journalists and historians is a lost cause. I realize now that true redemption will come only from the scholars and authors of the future. I hope this explains why on Halloween all children in the neighbourhood were given a copy of my book. If, God forbid, any of them grow up to be historians, I'll be right here waiting for them.

Listen. I'm a uniter, okay? That's what I am. I bring people and things together.



RYAN HEFFERNAN

It's getting so an ex-PM can't go into a hotel room and get an envelope stuffed with cash

If you think about it, this whole kerfuffle is no different from the time I tried to unite Canada within the Constitution. Schreiber is Quebec. The money is the Meech Lake accord. The manila envelope is Clyde Wells. The pasta is federalism. Now do you understand? Sure, I could have refused the money, but excuse me for loving Canada enough to accept it.

Brian Mulroney
3:06 a.m., Nov. 10, 2007
Montreal, Quebec

ON THE WEB: For Scott Feschuk's take on the news of the day, visit his blog **www.macleans.ca/feschuk**

MICHAEL JOSEPH SAMPSON

1935-2007

He was a mild-mannered lake boat pilot until an icy plunge made him a foul-mouthed hermit

Michael Joseph Sampson was born in Sampsonville, N.S., on Cape Breton Island, to John Henry and Annie Marie Charlotte Sampson, on Jan. 21, 1935, the baby of four. His mother, who often still went by her maiden name, McPhee, and whom people called Minnie, was a homemaker. John H.—a Sampsonville lad in a village of Sampsons, most of them relations—raised livestock and vegetables on 40 acres overlooking Bras d'Or Lake. He also worked as a stevedore for the Mersey Paper Co. and, as a sideline, erected and maintained the telephone lines when they finally reached the village in the 1950s.



Though Michael was born during the Depression, Sampsonville likely would have been little different in fatter times. Minnie walked into town each day for a 50-cent stipend scrubbing floors, then baked the family bread and made their clothes. Mike, like his siblings, remained in school until just old enough—his early teens—to work. Then he and Tony, a brother, farmed and cut cordwood in the bush, staying for days eating canned meat and snaring rabbit. At first snow, John H. and Old Dark, a horse, hauled out the wood; as they stacked the sleigh, Dark would crane his neck, "looking round and almost telling us, 'Look, that's enough, don't put more,' " says Tony.

When Mike turned 17, Tony, by then a deckhand on the cargo boats that plied the Great Lakes and up the St. Lawrence, sold the captain on his brother. "You had to be 18," says Tony. "I didn't tell." It was hard labour but better than Sampsonville work, says Tony, and "you had your room and board and when we started it was $149 a month—big money for us." Mike rose from watchman to wheelsman to second mate and, as a pilot, eased vessels through dicey spots on the Detroit River or Thousand Islands. At one port of call, Montreal—where for a time Tony ran a *casse-croûte* with his wife, Jeanne—Mike met Fleurette, Jeanne's dark-haired sister and a waitress at the restaurant. They married, wintering in Sampsonville, where Mike, "a wonderful, well-polite, well-mannered" man, as one relation recalls, wore white shirts and ties, teased his cousins about their boyfriends and, with his pay, bought cheap property at tax auction, collecting a wad of deeds.

Then, in March 1975, Mike fell through thin ice on Bras D'Or Lake. Bobbing in the frigid cold, he heaved in vain against the water's shale-like surface. His cries drew a nearby cousin, who hauled him to shore. Despite being in the water nearly an hour, he saw no doctor. "They couldn't believe he survived," says a relation. "He was a pretty tough-bodied man." Still, he was transformed. He began cursing and shouting, spoke nonsense and did not wash. "Don't look at me or I'll hit ya!" he once told a visitor. Many blamed the icy waters. "That's what everybody says," one friend notes. "But who knows. Might have been just something he decided to do. Play the fool." He lost his job and Fleurette, and, after inheriting the old homestead, let it go to ruin, with rotting cars and trucks strewn across the yard. When the county called the property dangerous and unsightly, ordering it cleaned, he did nothing. "He'd get peeved and say, 'I don't have to do this, they're not touching my property, they can't do this, they can't do that,' " says a relation. "But he soon found out they could." Spotting a demolition crew one morning, Mike protested, forcing police to jail him for the day. Nothing was left when he returned. "He had no place to go," says a relation. "Nobody wanted him. He was very, very dirty."

"Crazy Mike," as some called him, spent weeks sleeping in his old Ford truck. Though he longed for his old land, he settled instead in a trailer with no power or water two kilometres into the forest, "totally alone in the wilderness," says a friend. With his beard grown long he stole into town behind the grocer's, collecting old lettuce, tomatoes and apples. In winter he fed cordwood into an old stove in his trailer. "We used to tell him he was going to burn to death," says a relation. "That's all right," he'd say. "If it happens, it happens, I won't know." Not long ago, Melba Calder, a niece, bumped into Mike in town. "He was cleaner than normal," she says. "His hair was clean. His beard was clean and brushed." Together they reminisced. "He was recalling his father and his mother both. He said, 'You know, I never heard him raise his voice to anyone. Ever. Did you?' "

Three days later, on Oct. 29, a friend found the trailer burned. Mike, whose remains have yet to be officially identified, was 72. Not far away, stowed in the woods in an old safe that water damage had long ago fused shut, were the deeds to local property he had purchased years ago, said today to be worth as much as $2 million.

BY NICHOLAS KÖHLER

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